

#### and the fire alarm before your nose knows



You can't smell or see the invisible gasses present just before a fire starts. Neither can your dog. These products of combustion escape most detection methods.

One day, a new Eaton Yale & Towne detection device may give you nearinstant response. It will sample the air and sense molecular changes created as the products of combustion begin to form. It will react before smoke, heat and flame appear.

As it sounds the alarm in a home, apartment, school, commercial building or factory, it can be made to alert the

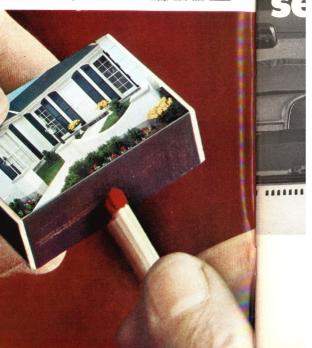
fire department. It can also close doors or take other action to confine the upcoming fire to a limited area. Hence, our big idea is safety for you and your property.

Most of our ideas become exciting products that move man, materials and energy . . . in the dynamic areas of transportation, materials handling and power transmission. But we also apply

to security systems, industrial and consumer products. For more about us, write for our 28-page "IDEAS" book.







# of the

When it's 90 degrees and bumper to bumper, there's nothing hotter or stickier than a vinyl car seat.

That's because vinvl upholstery has always been made in a solid sheet, so air couldn't get in or out.

But now B.F.Goodrich has come up with a not-so-hot development: Cool

Knit™, a vinyl upholstery that breathes. We knit narrow strips of vinyl film around nylon yarn to create an uphol-

stery material that's porous. So moiselse in the world. ture evaporates rapidly. And

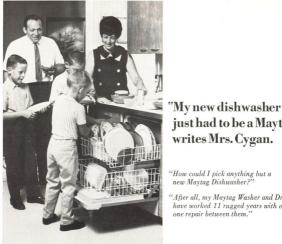
your car seat stays cooler and more comfortable.

Cool Knit looks cool, too. Even though it's got several times the break and tear strength of ordinary vinyl. That makes it perfect for patio furniture. And bus or school or theatre seats. Anywhere heat and hard wear are problems.

Innovations like this are what you

can expect from B.F.Goodrich. After all, we invented vinyl in the first place, and make more of it than anyone

B.F.Goodrich We've cooled it.



## just had to be a Maytag;" writes Mrs. Cygan.

"How could I pick anything but a new Maytag Dishwasher?"

"After all, my Maytag Washer and Dryer have worked 11 rugged years with only one repair between them."

Scott, 9; Mr. Cygan; Rick, 11; Doug, 6; Mrs. Cygan

"My husband and I didn't have to think twice about what kind of dishwasher to get," says Mrs. Mary Cygan of Mundelein, Illinois. "Not after the way our dependable Maytag Washer and Dryer have performed.'

"This Maytag Dishwasher of mine is such a worksaver," continues Mrs. Cygan. "I don't rinse even the heavily-soiled dishes. I scrape off the big scraps, and in they go. You should see how clean they come out.'

There's a reason a Maytag gets dishes cleaner without pre-rinsing, Mrs. Cygan. Maytag's exclusive Micro-MeshTM Filter keeps the water cleaner through the whole cycle. And only Maytag has a full-size spray arm on top, as well as one below. More water action, from more sides, means more cleaning power!

Another nice Maytag convenience is huge ca-

pacity. A Maytag can do dinner dishes for a big family in one load. (For a small family, this means you only have to wash dishes once a day.)

Maytag gives you a choice of built-in or portable dishwashers in a variety of contemporary colors. The built-in also comes in stainless steel and with a Trim Kit that lets you decorate the front panel with your own fabric, wallpaper, or wood paneling. See them soon at your Maytag Dealer's. He's in the Yellow Pages.

Naturally, we don't say all Maytags will equal the record Mrs. Cygan wrote about. But dependability is what we try to build into every Maytag.



Maytag dependability now moves to the kitchen. For detailed brochures on Maytag Dishwashers and Maytag Food Waste Disposers, send 25¢ to The Maytag Company, Newton, Iowa 50208.





#### TIME LISTINGS

#### TELEVISION Wednesday, October 8

WEDNESDAY NIGHT MOVIE (ABC, 9-11:15

WEDNESDAY MIGHT MOVIE (ABC, 9-113)
p.m.).\* Audrey Hepburn and Albert Finney, in love and not so in love, are Two
For the Road (1967) on the Côte d'Azur.
Funny, incisive and stylish, the film features Frederic Raphael's script and Stanley Donen's direction.

Thursday, October 9

NET PLAYHOUSE (N.F.T. 8:30-10 p.m.). Tennessee Williams' one-act play. Ten Blocks on the Camino Real (which later became his three-act allegory. Camino Real) stars Martin Sheen as Kilroy, Lotte Lenya as the Gypsy, Hurd Hatfield as Jacques Casanova and Carrie Nye as Marguerite Gautier. Repeat.

Saturday, October 11
WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS (ABC, 2:30-4
p.m.), World Table Tennis Championships
from Munich, Germany, and the Duke Kahanamoku Hawaiian Big Wave Surfing

hanamoku Hawaiian Big Wave Surfing Championship from Sunset Beach, Hawaii. N.C.A.A. FOOTBALL (ABC, 4-7:30 p.m.). Oklahoma v. Texas, at Dallas.

THE WORLD SERIES (NBC, check local listings for time). National and American League champs get together on the home field of the American League pennant winner. Coverage continues through the week.

Sunday, October 12

THE ED SULLIVAN SHOW (CBS, 8-9 p.m.).
Shirley Bassey and Oliver will sing, Woody
Allen will be funny, and Lee Marvin will
seowl his way through a song from Paint
Your Wagon.

SUNDAY NIGHT MOVIE (ABC, 9-11 p.m.). Fantastic Voyage involves a miniaturized medical team doing tricky brain surgery from inside the patient. The special effects are spectacular and won the 196 Oscar. Stephen Boyd and Raquel Welch play two of the tiny people.

Monday, October 13

CHRYSLER PRESENTS THE BOB HOPE COMEDY

SPECIAL (NBC, 9-10 p.m.). Old Vaudevillians Donald O'Connor and Jimmy Durante take a few turns. NET JOURNAL (NET, 9-10 p.m.). "Life

Style" is a film made by a group of Berkeley students about themselves, and about the things that hassle them: black-white relationships, police and politics, parents and privacy.

MITZI'S 2ND SPECIAL (NBC, 10-11 p.m.). A musical version of *Gone With the Wind*, with Mitzi Gaynor and Ross Martin.

Tuesday, October 14

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SPECIAL (CBS, 7:30-8:30 p.m.). Heinz Seilmann, the noted wildlife photographer and naturalist, page

ed wildlife photographer and naturalist, patiently filmed unusual scenes depicting "The Mystery of Animal Behavior" in Australia, Alaska, Africa, Germany, Nesting birds, pregnant fish and socially interacting sea ofters behave for the camera.

NET FESTIVAL (NET, 9-10:30 p.m.). As Peggy Lee prepares for a nightclub appearance at the International Hotel in Las Vegas, the steps leading to opening night are recorded, with a delectable lot of Miss Lee's singing along the way.

\* All times E.D.T.

#### THEATER On Broadway

FORTY CARATS. Julie Harris manages to look both pretty and plausible as a 40-yearold divorcee who is wooed and finally wed by a young man in his 20s.

wed by a young man in his 20s.

PLAY IT AGAIN, SAM. Woody Allen's new
comedy seems more a prolonged nightclub
routine than a play, but his kooky view
of the world and his nimble jokes make
for an amusing evening.

#### Off Broadway

SAIVATION. Begat by Hair, this new musical is an easthetically retarded child that epitomizes Modcom—the commercial exploitation of modernity without regard for dramatic art. Like other Modcom productions that peddle the youth cult. Solvation is replete with cynical simulations of innocence, freedom and dissent.

ADAPTATION—NEXT. Elaine May's Adaptation and Terrence McNally's Next are a happy combination of funny one-acters. Both plays are directed by Miss May with her usual wit and comic perception.

NO PLACE TO BE SOMEBODY is a sometimes rambling, but always absorbing study of the contemporary fabric of black-white and black-black relations.

OHI CALCUTTAI The talented authors of this "nudie review" have not come through with their promised elegant erotica—but the handsome bodies onstage help com-

pensate for the disappointment.

TO BE YOUNG, GIFTED AND BLACK. An adroit cast presents moving readings and dramatizations from the works of the late Lorraine Hansberry.

DAMES AT SEA is a delightful parody of the movie musicals of the 1930s, complete with all the frenetic dance routines and a classic cliché: the naive young girl who survives the Broadway jungle to tap her way to stardom.

#### CINEMA

THE GYPSY MOTHS. Superficially a film about skydiving. The Gypsy Moths is in fact another investigation by Director John Frankenheimer into the nature and quality of courage. The story seems too slender and deliberate to bear its weight of rather sophomoric philosophy.

TAKE THE MONEY AND RUN. Woody Allen appears as a crook in this crazy crime flick (which he also directed and co-authored) that comes on like gangbusters.

MEDIUM COOL is an angry essay, in fictive documentary form, on American society in crisis. Writer-Director-Photographer Haskell Wexler uses the framework of a TV cameraman's experiences during last summer's Chicago convention to render the year's most impassioned and impressive film.

THE WILD BUNCH. The place is the Tex-Mex border, around the turn of the century, where a group of freebooting bandits try to scrounge a living out of a life that is fast becoming obsolet. Director Sam Peckinpah explores this violent world with hard-deed pottry and a sense of visual splendor that establishes him as one of the best American film makers.

STAIRCASE. There are two good reasons to see this film version of Charles Dyer's play, and they are Richard Burton and Rex Harrison. Portraying a bickering, desperate homosexual couple on the brink of

old age, both men turn in their best screen performances in years.

ALICE'S RESTAURANT. Arthur Penn has turned Arlo Guthrie's jaunty talking blue hit of a couple of years back into a melancholy epitaph for an entire way of life. It is hard to imagine a more beautiful film than this—or a sadder one.

TRUE GRIT. At 62, John Wayne is still riding tall in the saddle. Playing a hard-drinking but softhearted lawman in this cornball western comedy. Wayne proves that his nickname, "The Duke," has never been

EASY RIDER. A hippie voyage of discovery featuring Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper (who also directed) bombing cross-country on their cycles looking for the meaning of it all. The self-pity gets pretty thick at times, but there are some good vignettes of rural America and a supporting performance by Jack Nicholson that is worth the price of admission.

MDNIGHT COWBOY. A slick package about being lonely and loveless in New York is directed by John Schlesinger in fashion-magazine style, but the acting of Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight gives the film a sense of poignancy and reality.

#### BOOKS

Best Reading

MY LIFE WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., by Coretta Scott King. Intimate touches and a personal context lend new dimensions and drama to the life of her doomed and dedicated husband.

BIRDS, BEASTS AND RELATIVES, by Gerald Durrell. Zoology begins at home, or at least that's the way it seems to Naturalist Durrell, who recalls his boyhood infatuation with animals and his family's

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Come.

We will be your wings. We will set you free. Free beyond the heights of man. Free to

chase the sun.

Hug a cloud.

And, though you were born on earth. To live on earth. You will be at home, here in the sky.

The comfort and ease you own on earth, you will have up here.

And, Eastern will make it so.

It shall be a most natural thing. For you. To fly.



**EASTERN** The Wings of Man.

strained tolerance of some of the things that followed him into the house.

DR. BOWDLER'S LEGACY: A HISTORY OF EX-PURGATED BOOKS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, by Noel Perrin. Examining the literary atrocities of squeamish expurgators, the author has created a brilliant little work of

THE WATERFALL, by Margaret Drabble.
The author's finest novel is a superb audit of the profits and losses of love for a woman threatening to destroy herself and those who care for her.

THE EGG OF THE GLAK AND OTHER STO-RIES, by Harvey Jacobs. Bizarre urban fairy tales delivered with the kick and rhythm of a nightclub comedian.

JESUS REDISCOVERED, by Malcolm Muggeridge. The 66-year-old British cultural curmudgeon writes tellingly of the ways, means and meditations that led to his con-

version to Christianity.

FAT CITY, by Leonard Gardner. A brilliant exception to the general rule that boxing fiction seldom graduates beyond the

level of caricature.

THE FRENCH: PORTRAIT OF A PEOPLE, by Sanche de Gramont. Only the cuisine comes off unscathed in this entertaining analysis vinaigrette of the French national

FLASHMAN: FROM THE FLASHMAN PAPERS B39-1842, edited and arranged by George MacDonald Fraser. But don't believe it for a minute. Though Flashman has fooled several scholars, it is actually an agreeable fictional takeoff on assorted tales of British derringed, in the days of the Fumah

ish derring-do in the days of the Empah.
THE COST OF LIVING LIKE THIS, by James

novel about a man's coming to terms with two women who love him and the cancer that is pinching off his life.

DONA FLOR AND HER TWO HUSBANDS, by Jorge Amado. A sensuous tale of a virtuous lady and her conjugal rites—as vivid and cheerfully bawdy as Boccaccio.

THE BIG LITTLE MAN FROM BROOKLYN, by St. Clair McKelway. The incredible life of Stanley Clifford Weyman, who cracked the upper crust by posing at various times as U.S. Consul General to Algiers, a physician and a French naval officer.

SHAW: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1856-1898), selected by Stanley Weintraub. Shaw never wrote one. But this paste-and-scissors portrait fashioned from fragments of the great man's work serves its purpose well

COLLECTED ESSAYS, by Graham Greene.

In notes and criticism, the prolific novelist repeatedly drives home the same obsessive point: "Human nature is not black
out which but black not grays."

PAIRING OFF, by Julian Moynahan. The book masquerades as a novel but is more like having a nonstop non sequitur Irish storyteller around—which may be more welcome than well-made fiction.

THE END OF LIBERALISM, by Theodore J. Lowi. Much liberal policy but little liberalizing practice has characterized the U.S. Government for more than 30 years, says this University of Chicago professor, who argues for a dumping of pragmatism and political pluralism in favor of tough, well-planned and well-enforced Government of the property of the p

THE YEAR OF THE WHALE, by Victor B. Scheffer. The most awesome of mammals

has been left alone by literary men almost since Moby Dick. Now Dr. Scheffer, a scientist working for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, writes of the whale's life cycle with a mixture of fact and feeling that evokes Melville's memory.

SIAM MIAMI, by Morris Renck. The trials of a pretty pop singer who tries to sell herself and save herself at the same time. Astoundingly, she manages both.

#### Best Sellers

- FICTION
  The Godfother, Puzo (1 last week)
- . The Love Machine, Susann (2)
- The Andromeda Strain, Crichton (6)
- The Pretenders, Davis (5) Portnoy's Complaint, Roth (3)
- Portnoy's Complaint, Roth (3) Naked Came the Stranger, Ashc (4)
- . A Place in the Country, Gainham (10)
- 8. The Promise, Potok (9) 9. Ada, Nabokov (7) 10. Except for Me and Thee, West
- NONFICTION

  1. The Peter Principle, Peter and Hull (1)
- The Making of the President 1968,
- White (2)
  3. The Kingdom and the Power,
- My Life with Jacqueline Kennedy,

  Gallagher (4)
- 5. The Honeycomb, St. Johns 6. An Unfinished Woman, Hellman (6)
- 7. Jennie, Martin (9)
  8. My Life and Prophecies,
  Dixon and Noorbergen
- Captive City, Demaris (7)
   Between Parent and Teenager,
   Ginott (5)



How to branch way out without pulling up your roots



# If you were working here tomorrow



# you'd wear a Rolex

It takes a special kind of man to face the silent perils of the marine underworld. And he needs a special kind of watch: a watch he's willing to stake his life on.

Nothing less than a Rolex would do for the support crew of Deepstar\*, and for the pilots who take this 2-man research submarine down to 4,000 feet.

The watch they wear is the Rolex Submariner, a selfwinding 26-jewel officially certified chronometer.

Its classic Oyster case is carved out of a solid block of hardened Swedish stainless steel and is individually tested and guaranteed to a depth of 660 feet.\* Each Submariner is more than a year in the making.

The men of Project Deepstar call it time well-spent.

\*When case, crown and crystal are intact. The Rolex Submariner is \$230 with matching bracelet.

\*Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Underseas Division.







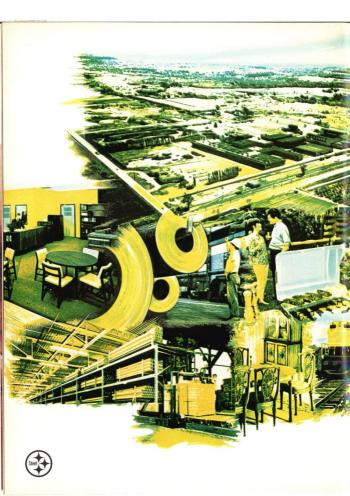
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With all these new products going for us, we actually get only half our sales from steel mill products. Yet we're number 297 on FORTUNE's list of 500 top corporations. (Last year we were

To find out what we look like, where we're going and how we can help you, write for a copy of our annual report. It's more than good reading. It's a bellwether for the future. Ours and yours. Interlake, 310 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

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situation a pilot might en-counter—rough weather to in-invented "mass precision" and



#### LETTERS

#### Drug Debate

Sir: I commend you on the fine article on pop drugs [Sept. 26]. It was most poignant and struck close to home. I was a grasshopper, but luckily enough I stopped a couple of months ago. I have heard a lot about how you can't get hooked just blowing grass. I've got too many friends dis-proving that theory. We all started on grass, but they are now dropping acid, pop ping speed and sniffing glue. Getting high is a great feeling, but it is a greater feeling being free and seeing someone else, and not yourself, ruin his life.

#### DAWN WELLS Washington, D.C.

Sir: Could you please put me in touch with Dr. Lindesmith of your article on pop drugs? You see, I've been in college a couple of years now, and I haven't yet de-veloped an interest in marijuana. So I veloped an interest in marijuana. So I guess I've got a problem. I'd appreciate whatever you could do but, for Christ's sake, don't tell my old man! He's along in years, and that could spell the end. STEVE ORTON

#### Altadena, Calif.

Sir: That's a description of what it is like to be "under the influence" of drugs? Your teen-ager and adult are only describing what it is like to be acutely mentally ill-ask any schizophrenic

#### (MRS.) ELIZABETH C. LANDWEHR Long Beach, Calif.

Sir: Your cover article is a tribute to modern interpretive reporting. The prob-lem of drug abuse will not be solved until more people grasp the complex is-sues and address the problem with understanding based on scientific and social fact. When the mass media do a superior job of reporting these issues and facts, we are certainly on the road to solution STANLEY F. YOLLES, M. D.

#### Director

STEVEN L. STERN

National Institute of Mental Health Chevy Chase, Md.

#### Abolishing the College

Sir: I doubt that President Nixon said that he will sign the proposed consti-tutional amendment to abolish the Elec-toral College "if it reaches his desk" [Sept. 26]. Upon approval by two-thirds of each house of Congress, constitutional amendments are not sent to the President but are submitted directly to the legislatures of the several states

#### Los Angeles

#### Taking On Teddy

Sir: How can Ted Kennedy have the gall to attack the Administration's Viet Nam war policy as "an exercise in pol-itics and improvisation" [Sept. 26] when his recent famous TV speech was exactly MARION BEADLE

#### Hana, Maui, Hawaii

Sir: Ted Kennedy's overrighteous indig-nation at President Nixon's handling of the inherited Viet Nam war is short of ludicrous. How unfortunate that Teddy was so silent when his brother John ordered the first American combat troops of this war into action and is now so vitriolic against the President's honest attempts to reduce these forces. What irony that Teddy also insists that we now toss out the Thieu regime when it was, once again, his own brother who was directly re-sponsible for the fall of Diem, leading to the rise of Thieu.

How tragic, too, Kennedy's professed concern with the loss of lives in Viet Nam when he was so negligent about saying the one young life over which he had di-rect control at Chappaquiddick.

#### (MRS.) G. M. GRACE

#### Arlington, Va Earlier Passage

Sir: It surprised me to find that the arti-"The Manhattan's Epic Voyage" [Sept. 26] failed to give credit to the first ship that completed the voyage through the Northwest Passage. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police auxiliary schooner St. Roch completed a west-to-east passage from Vancouver, B.C., more than 25 years ago. It also sailed from Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 22, 1944, and made the voyage through the

Northwest Passage, arriving in Vancouver, B.C., on Oct. 16, 1944. I am a retired member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and have always appreciated giving credit where it is due.

W.V.C. CHISHOLM

#### Beverly Hills, Calif.

Sir: You state that the Canadian government is now being pressured into de-claring the Northwest Passage Canadian territorial waters, indicating that only now, when there is the scent of money in the air, is it going to do it. Canadians have always considered these waters to be theirs and have no intention of being bullied by American "oil-tanker diplomacy" into giv ing them up, despite America's mistaken idea that it owns us.

#### LEO J. KEATING Guelph, Ont.

#### Avant-Garde Baamen

Sir: My husband and I have just left Japan, and it behooves me to update you on behalf of the Japanese men, who probably are not even aware that they represent an avant-garde force of purse-carrying men [Sept. 26]. Rarely will you see a gentleman without his soft zippered black pouch bag with a handle, no doubt

carrying personal accoutrements. I've wondered for years how men have anaged this long without them!

(MRS.) SYLVIA TERRELL

#### Los Angeles

Sir: Intrigued by Mr. Capote's portable collection. I inventoried my non-Gucci, shoulder-strapless and exceedingly square standard-brown-leather attaché case. To wit: one tube of spot remover, one small tin of shoe polish, one pair of sunglasses, tin of shoe point, one pair of sugasses, six packets of matches, one toothbrush (without toothpaste), three pencils (two broken), four ballpoint pens (two without ink), one loafer tassel, two unpaid bills, one checkbook, one pad of deposit slips, one address book, two note pads, one Chap Stick, one safety pin, six paper clips, nine rubber bands, one bottle of eve drops, one pen light, one railroad timetable, two personal letters, one road map, one adhesive bandage, one paperback book, one laundry ticket, some business papers. Of course, you'd never catch me car-

rying a handbag.
WILLIAM MATHEWSON

Manhattan

Sir: Once upon a time, when I was a young girl, we were taught about the three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. At long last, I understand the purpose of the neuter. It's something which to hang the over-the-shoulder bag.

#### (MRS.) CARRIE HANCOCK Willowdale Ont

#### On the House

Sir: Re your article "From Dream to Nightmare" [Sept. 26]: it is really too bad when, in this supposedly free country, some snob in a nondescript colonial house can tell someone what kind of house he can live in. This is a good example of how we treat everybody in the world who doesn't conform to our Wasp way of life. I sincerely hope that Mr. Eustice wins his appeal and succeeds in try-

#### SANDY LOMBARDI

#### Minneapolis

Sir: Frankly, I think his house is beau-tiful. And if I lived in that atmosphere, I'd board up my windows, too. KATHLEEN NUNES

#### Albuquerque, N. Mex.

#### **Animal Origins**

Sir: I am amused though puzzled by your review of Eugene Marais' The Soul of the Ape [Sept. 26]. I am aware of no more highly informed reporting of the new evolutionary interpretations of human behavior than the articles appearing in your Behavior section. Yet in the viewer deploring it all, suggesting that Marais speculates too much about the animal origins of the human unconscious (when that is what the book is about), and finally stating that Marais "came to grief over the noninheritance of acquired characteristics," a concept that never enters the work I find it difficult to believe that any

TIME staffer could know this little about what is going on in the natural sci-ences. Whom did you bring in, a cul-tural anthropologist?

#### ROBERT ARDREY

#### Rome

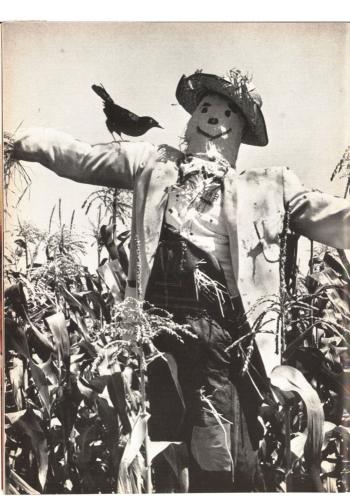
#### Mother Symbol

Sir: Vicki Budinger is marrying Tiny Tim [Sept. 26]? How exciting! She must see him as a mother symbol.

#### LESLIE GOODMAN-MALAMUTH Manhattan Beach, Calif.

#### Address Letters to TIME, TIME & LIFE Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020.

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Fortunately, with the help of modern agricultural chemicals, the American farmer has been able to double the productivity of his land in the past 20 years. We at FMC Corporation, through our Niagara Chemical Division, have had a big part in this. As a major producer of dusts and sprays, we have developed special chemicals

and formulations that man can live with but the crop-destroyers can't.

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Main Street produced an ad wor-

thy of Madison Avenue. The ad,

Il KE too many other small American Communities, rural Surgoinsville, Ernh, has no doctor. When to own State Communities, the communities of the c

which ran in several of TIME's regional editions, showed a child peering through a door window bearing a "clinic closed" sign. Readers were asked to "help Surgoinsville find a doctor"-and, as it turns out, they did just that. The "Surgoinsville Interested Citizens' Committee" (SICK) received scores of responses. Sixteen physicians were among those who wrote, inquiring about setting up practice in Surgoinsville. By last week, the town had narrowed the candidates down to four, and it hopes to have its new doctor soon. "We had no idea that we could unleash such a landslide of publicity and reaction," Mr. Button says. The ad, he feels, also made the "plight of other small doctorless communities a matter of wide public knowledge." Associate Editor David Tinnin.



TINNIN & KRISS
izens who had been searching for a
new doctor, saw an advertisement in
TIME placed by a junior college that
was seeking funds.

Wondering how a school so small could have afforded to pay for the full-page appeal, Button called Robert C. Barr, Tims<sup>4</sup>, sasciate ad director in New York, to inquire about the add Barr explained that the junior college appeal had been run without charge as part of a special program that Tims<sup>6</sup> began for colleges three years ago. But Barr made Button a sporting proposition: if the town of Surgoinsville could supply the illus-

who wrote this week's cover story on Socialist Willy Brandt, has been following the evolution of postwar Germany since 1949, when he entered the University of Heidelberg. There he studied history and philosophy for four years; along the way, he also won two All-German collegiate track championships (in the 100 and 200 meter dashes)—and a German wife. When Kurt Kiesinger came to power in 1966, Tinnin wrote the cover story on the Chancellor that noted the waning days of the country's postwar era. In this week's story, which was edited by Senior Editor Ronald Kriss, Tinnin examines the opening of a new era for West Germany.

The Cover: Woodcut by Norman Gorbaty. This is the first TIME cover by Gorbaty, 37, who is an associate professor of graphic design at Manhattan's Cooper Union.

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### TIME

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# TIME THE WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE October 10, 1969 Vol. 94, No. 15

#### THE NATION

#### NIXON'S WORST WEEK

It did not take an alarmist of Chicken Little proportions to discern that bits of sky were falling on the Nixon Administration. The Haynsworth case, the Green Beret debacle, disarray in the Justice Department, the Republican loss in a congressional special election, bitter debate over Viet Nam-all at once all the news was bad. Yet somehow, Nixon seemed unconcerned and aloot from it all. Hugh Sidey, TIME's Washington Bureau chief, found that attitude perhaps as alarming as the events themselves in the most trying time Nixon has yet had in office, and offered this analysis:

RICHARD NIXON conceived his presson's. Nixon won the election partly because he was so successful in the use of cosmetics and electronics. In power he intended to pursue the same course. Johnson was loud, Nixon would be soft. Johnson was secretive and deceptive, Nixon open and candid. Johnson played cronvism while Nixon would seek counsel from friend and foe. Johnson became the symbol of a political manipulator, but Nixon would abandon his old style of partisanship to strike a pose as statesman of all the people. The script said in large letters: AVOID LYNDON JOHNSON'S MISTAKES.

Crucial Months, It isn't working, For all the President's intelligent instincts, last week-the worst for Nixon since taking office-showed how easily history can repeat itself. Nixon had tried to finetune his war policy by modulated maneuvers, but suddenly the home front reverted to a battle for the weary hearts and minds of Americans. There are no lines from the White House that link up with the Vermont Avenue headquarters of the Viet Nam Moratorium Committee, whose first nationwide demonstration, scheduled for Oct. 15, appears to be gathering momentum bea knob or issue an order that will still Democratic Senators Mike Mansfield and William Fulbright. He cannot even silence Republican Senator Charles Goodell

In the splendid serenity of Camp David on Sept. 27, Nixon allowed the partisan and the tough infighter to reappear. Meeting with Republican legislative and party leaders, he declared that he did not intend to be the first American President to lose a war (see story page 17). He railed against those who would "bug out." He talked of the crucial nature of the next "couple of months." That meeting placed Nixon shoulder to shoulder with L.B.J. in an un-minable fight against those whom Johnson once described as "nervous Nellies."

same again.

Automotic Honor, The Administration also may not quickly recover from
the matter of Judge Clement Haynsworth's financial affairs. With Eisentensor and the state of the state of the state of the
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one lens.

Of all the Johnson Administration's

plagues, none was so virulent as the credibility gap. Yet last week Washington witnessed one of those painful rituals in which the White House was forced to acknowledge—after earlier evasions—that the President had, after all, been personally involved in the dismissal of murder charges against the Green Rerets.

Sometimes it seems that Nixon and his men were flash-frozen back in the mid-'50s, when the U.S. was primarily concerned with consumer appetites and staving off recessions, when the men from the board rooms ruled comfortably and calmly. Defrosted and put into service now, 15 years later, they find the environment totally changed. For Mitchell and his aides. Havnsworth met the criteria of respectability and honor that automatically accrues to one of his social and economic standing. What else was needed? For Nixon, it is enough that a President deliberate in solitude and have a nice, pleasant representative of the firm like young Ronald Ziegler (see THE PRESS) out front talking in advertisingese about the President being



NIXONS LEAVE IN RAIN FOR FLORIDA WEEKEND A necessity to slug away from dawn till night.

"cool," and his "meeting with staff" and "reviewing."

This Administration has the atmosphere of the private club. Mitchell in particular seems to exude an attitude impervious to national concerns. The fact that he said school integration would be accomplished seemed to be all he felt necessary. He showed a remarkable nonchalance when some of his attorneys rebelled, and stayed calmly in his bed at San Clemente. Nixon's own style has been that of the corporate man rather than the public official-or at least a version of the corporate man who is insulated and protected from outside scrutiny of his decision-making processes. He has lived in lush privacy, unhurried and at times seemingly unconcerned. Others take the clue. They congregate in the splendor of the Watergate apartments, entertain each other and are either unaware of the mounting problems or not certain how to meet them

In the past 15 years the internal problems of this nation have grown geometrically. The American people know more, are troubled more. Hints of strain back then have become deep divisions in society. Yet Nixon has not tended the shop. He has not, in fact, worked hard enough at the job. That does not mean a President must shout and heave like Lyndon Johnson. But a President must stay in there and slug away from dawn to night. Take breaks, certainly. But all these experiments in running a government from the banks of the Pedernales or the Pacific shore are exercises in self-delusion, Washington is home and office for a President of the U.S. in this age; Nixon ended last week with another trip to Florida.

No Crise. The old worries about the superficiality of Nixon have been rekindled. He has been precupied with deadlines: give him a year, no war criticism for 60 days; we'll do it faster speciality of the state of the superficial to the superf

Nixon, to an alarming degree, has done just that. Preoccupied with the rituals of power, pleased with the mood of calm he evoked in his first days, conditioned to a world where men in their privileged preserves make the decisions that bind others, he is now finding how difficult it is to govern in the real world. The President and his men have had something of a grace period, free of new, stabbing crises arising in the night. Their troubles-relative to a Bay of Pies, a Cuban missile confrontation, a Tet offensive, a skein of domestic riots -have been modest in scale. Right now one can only guess how the Administration will perform in future tests, and how much it is learning from its present difficulties.

#### THE HAYNSWORTH HASSLE

It was a mistake in the first place to submit the nomination, and it's a mistake not to withdraw it. It will not enhance the prestige of the Supreme Court. It will not help the Republican Party. We shouldn't be on the defensive on the Supreme Court.

THOSE anguished words from a Republican Party leader were directed toward Richard Nixon, as the President met privately with dyspeptic party chiefs last week. The subject, of course, was Nixon's candidate for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, South Carolina Judge Clement Havnsworth Jr., who was suddenly the center of an old-fashioned political donnybrook threatening to divide the Republicans, delight the Democrats and tarnish the President All week long Washington was roiled by rumors, as Congressmen and Senators conferred with one another and the Administration, counted votes and then counted them again, examined the facts, their consciences, read their constituents' mail and weighed the choices.

Those choices were not easy for many Republican Senate leaders. Haynsworth has turned out to be more than they bar-gained for as a political problem, and less than they are willing to accept as a Supreme Court Institute. Sknown some chart unions view as anti-labor and civil rights workers as ante bellum. Some of his financial dealings raise the spector of portal-like improprieties, different though the cases union, during the middle of the cases and the control of the cases are considered through the cases are considered to the case of the

nomination. Then a fresh round of G.O.P. grumblings on Capitol Hill signaled that rancor was turning into revolt. Faced with insurgence, which if combined with Democratic votes could lead eventually to defeat of the Haynsworth nomination, Richard Nixon dug in his heels. Presidential prestige and power faced off against the liberal conscince within the G.O.P.

No Matter the Facts. Less than two weeks ago, it hardly seemed it would come to that. Despite the protests of organized labor and civil rights groups, Havnsworth's confirmation appeared assured. What brought about the sudden shift in Republican ranks against Havnsworth was the disclosure that he once had a tenuous business connection with Bobby Baker, the former Democratic Senate aide who was convicted of larceny and tax evasion in 1967. Both men invested in a South Carolina real estate deal several years ago, although neither apparently knew the other. Indiana's Democratic Senator Birch Bayh, leader of the Senate Judiciary Committee's anti-Havnsworth faction, dispatched an investigator to interview Baker. An amused Baker refused to help, asking: "Do you want to ruin my reputation by associating me with Havnsworth?"

The real estate deal was apparently innocuous and innocent, but Baker's name is enough to frighten most politicians. To some Republicans, Haynsworth's questionable judgment, described by one G.O.P. Senator as not a matter of dishonesty but "ethical opaqueness," combined with Bobby Baker, was too much.



THURMOND & HAYNSWORTH AT HEARING More than bargained for, less than acceptable.

No matter what the facts were, they feared that Haynsworth would be condemned by the public.

As the Baker bomb was exploding. anti-Haynsworth mail began flooding Republican offices. Obviously much of it was sponsored by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, But what shocked Republicans was the heavy load of obviously non-organizational mail from constituents concerned about Haynsworth, Arizona's Senator Barry Goldwater admitted that "I had no qualms about Haynsworth at all until I saw a stack of mail on my desk. The usual left-wing mail, you can identify. But it's another matter when you get mail from strict constitutionalists who write: 'Isn't there somebody else?

Early in the week Michigan's Senator Robert Griffin, the newly elected Republican whip, discovered a troubling trend among his colleagues. Polling the other 42 G.O.P. Senators, Griffin found a widespread desire to remain loval to party and President. At the same time, several Senators indicated that they either did not want to vote for Haynsworth or had serious doubts about him. The legislators were angry at being put on the spot because of the negligence of Attorney General John Mitchell. Mitchell had recommended Havnsworth to Nixon. They felt that after the scandal-sodden resignation of Abe Fortas, any Republican nominee for the court must be completely clean. Mitchell had

checked on Haynsworth, but not enough. Loyalty Test, Despite his blunder, Mitchell again proved his clout with Nixon, The President, Mitchell and Presidential Counsel John Ehrlichman went to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's house on Washington's Linnean Avenue for dinner at midweek. Mitchell bore down heavily on the point that the Haynsworth affair was being turned into a political attack on the President. Agreed on that premise, Nixon and his Attorney General decided to cast the issue as a test of presidential prerogative and party lovalty. The Senate Republicans who opposed Havnsworth and those who had strong misgivings about him were selected as the targets for the White House counterattack. They will be strongly urged not to oppose the President's nominee. If that does not work, political pressure, such as threats of holding up federally funded projects, will be applied.

In adopting its hard line, the Administration lent redence to those who charge that Haynsworth is the unhappy and result of Nixon's "Southern strategy," a political ploy the President has repeatedly denied. According to this theory, Nixon met with South Carolina's Senator Strom Thurmond and other Southern leaders in Atlanta in May of the Administration of the Administrati



hold the line in the general election against Alabama's George Wallace. In return, Nixon supposedly made certain promises, one of them being a guarantee to Strom Thurmond that he could make a lustice to the Supreme Court when the opportunity arose. If a quid aname a lustice to the Supreme Court when the opportunity arose. If a quid and the could be supposed to the suppose of the proposed post and the country of the proposed post and the proposed post and the country of the proposed post and the propo

Pyrhic Victory, While the Republicans stewed, Senate Democrats, for the most part, kept their own counsel on Hayaworth By not making the confirmation a test of loyalty for Demtal Control of the Control of the Control of the Control contented Republicans and increased chances of a negative vote on Hayasworth. If all the Democrats banded against the G.O.P. onnine, Republican dissidents might more easily be perturbative programs.

The focus of the furor, Havnsworth, spent most of the turbulent week sequestered in Washington's Mayflower Hotel. He offered nothing publicly except the assurance that he had no intention of withdrawing under fire, At Nixon and Mitchell's behest, he submitted to extensive questioning from Assistant Attorney General William F. Rehnquist, who heads the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel. Nixon knew that one more piece of damaging evidence against Haynsworth, however trivial, would surely tip the balance against the South Carolinian. Nixon wanted no more surprises. He seemed confident there would be none. and urged the Senate Judiciary Committee to move Havnsworth's name promptly to the floor for debate. What would happen there was anyone's guess at week's end, Barring some new development, most of the cloakroom vote counting indicated the President would win and get his Associate Justice. But if the vote were to be very close, the cost could be a divided G.O.P. and a Pyrrhic victory for the President.

#### THE WAR Blaming the Critics

Richard Nixon is determined to extract some concessions from North Viet Nam in exchange for U.S. disengagement from the war. To do this, he believes, he must convince the other side that his domestic position is solid. Further, he must make his American crities believe that they cannot rush him. The President is having trouble on both counts, but not for wart of trivo from and trivo counts, but not for wart of trivo from and trivo.

After his recent press conference declaration that antiwar outcries would not affect his policy, the President held two private meetings with Republican congressional and party leaders. The first took place at Camp David, where, amid Maryland's Catoctin Mountains, the participants lounged beside a figure-eight swimming pool and heard the President blame many of his Administration's problems on the Democratic-controlled Congress. The second meeting was a White House breakfast. The deliberations at such sessions almost always leak out; that is often the intention. The President's main message, echoing Lyndon Johnson, was that U.S. opponents of the war must take the blame

for the war's continuation. Bombing Suggestion. In the wake of Ho Chi Minh's death, suggested the President. North Viet Nam must reappraise its war strategy, and a united U.S. front -or at least an absence of public criticism of the war-would make Hanoi more tractable. One trouble with the argument is that the Communists have given no hint in Paris of changing their attitude in the slightest, despite nearly nine months of little domestic protest. Fighting is in another lull, but it is doubtful how long it will last. Still, declared Nixon: "The other side doesn't seem to realize it, but I'm in here for another three years and three months. I'm not going to be the first American President who loses a war."

The Republican legislative leaders emerged swinging from the conferences. Nixon had mentioned the crucial nature of the next "couple of months,"

and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott predicted that "you will have a new situation" if criticism subsides for 60 days. What that situation might be, or why Hanoi would be influenced by such a temporary, artificial hold-down of protest, was not explained. Senator John Tower suggested that if the Communists do not become more reasonable "over the next few days," the U.S. should consider resuming the bombing of North Viet Nam. Representative Bob Wilson, chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee, noted the endorsement given by several Democrats to the planned Oct. 15 antiwar demonstration (see box) and condemned their support as "nothing more than a cheap effort to make a few political points at the expense of the national interest.

Christmas Present. Despite such remarks, the Viet Nam debate is clearly not a partisan issue, at least not yet. There are too many divisions within both parties. The argument that renewed dissent in this country is reinforcing Communist stubbornness is also shaky, since it presumes that Hanoi makes its decisions on the basis of protest in the streets and in the press. These obviously enter North Viet Nam's calculations, but there are far cleare guides

to U.S. intent and will.

Hanoi knows that the war issue felled Lyndon Johnson. It heard Richard Nixon express the hope that he could beat Clark Clifford's withdrawal timetable, which called for all U.S. ground combine to reduce manpower in South Viet Nam. And it heard Senator George Alken, senior Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, predict that Nixon will announce "another troop withdrawal for Christmas, crough to make 100,000 for Christmas, crough to make 100,000 for Christmas, crough to make 100,000 for

William Fulbright spoke for many in the U.S .- even some who otherwise disagree with him-when he said: "I object to the policy that we should all keep quiet and hope for the best." The newly aroused protesters, both on Capitol Hill and on the campuses, seem in no mood to be silenced. Charles Goodell, eager to make a liberal reputation in liberal New York before next year's election, is pressing his bill to remove all U.S. troops from South Viet Nam by December 1970. Administration strategists think the proposal should be brought to a vote soon: it would probably be defeated. Unilateral withdrawal is plainly not acceptable to a majority of Congress or of the country-at present. But proposals for bigger steps toward disengagement continued. Charles Percy urged Nixon to halt all bombing and offensive ground operations in South Viet Nam. Mike Mansfield, the Democratic Senate leader, proposed that Washington attempt a cease-fire. He credited Nixon with wanting out of Viet Nam, "sure as hell." That Hanoi knows this too makes the dispute over the propriety of dispute academic.

#### Getting Ready for M-Day

N top of all his other problems, President Nixon was finding a remark he had made at his press conference the week before coming back to haunt him. He would not, he had insisted, "be affected whatever" by antiwar protests like the Moratorium Day activities planned for Oct. 15. More than any of the newspaper ads placed by the day's organizers, that defiant -some would say contemptuous-stand galvanized much of the nation's factional peace movement. Some 1,500 letters of support and more than \$1,000 descended daily on the confused but jubilant Viet Nam Moratorium Committee staff in Washington, Workers there cheerfully conceded that they had little hope of coordinating the burgeoning af-



BROWN AT MORATORIUM HEADQUARTERS

fair. While focused on college campuses for EDICATION), the protest was gaining the support of religious and civil rights groups, radicals and wealthy liberals, politicians in Congress and in many communities. The forces were mainly those that had rallied behind the presidential candidacies of Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy a year ago.

The Moratorium Committee's coordinator is, in fact, a former Mc-Carthy campaign aide, Sam Brown, 26. An ebullent onetime Harvard Divinity School student from Council Bluffs, fowa, Brown has been restlessly seeking new ways to marshal a mass antiwar movement ever since he eflectively organized campus yoults better to the committee of the committee of the total committee of the committee of the committee of the the committee of the properties of the the committee of the the committee of the committee the committee of the commit him last spring after a Massachusetts beare group peace group proposed a drive to set a deadline for termination of the war, sung the threat of a nationwide general strike as its main weapon. Brown to make a man and the same a

Off the campuses, those tactics on Oct. 15 will vary widely. The Congress itself has been urged to participate by two dozen Democratic Senators and Representatives, who announced that they will boycott legislative business on Capitol Hill that day. They include such war critics as Senators George Mc-Govern, Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie and William Fulbright. Their idea has spread so widely that-there is some doubt whether the Senate will be able to collect a quorum on M-Day, The Republican Party's liberal Ripon Society is backing the moratorium. At the community level, Buffalo Mayor Frank A. Sedita has proclaimed his city an official participant, and there will be a mass rally on the city hall steps and an evening bonfire to memorialize Viet Nam war dead.

"Businessmen's Rallies" are scheduled by antiwar groups for Chicago's Civic Center Plaza and New York's Wall Street. Some scientists at Bell Laboratories in Murray Hill, N.J., have promised to wear black armbands at work, as have some doctors and dentists. Two top leaders of American Reform Judaism, Boston's Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn and New York's Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, urged their 700 synagogues to participate. Exerting his influence bevond the cause of his migrant workers for the first time, Mexican-American Leader Cesar Chavez has asked his followers to observe the day. The moratorium leaders expect thousands of sympathizers not allied with organizations to wear armbands or simply observe moments of silence on the job. That does not mean, of course, that everyone agrees with the tactics and aims of M-Day, Neither protest politics nor a hasty U.S. withdrawal are popular everywhere in the nation-and there will be countless communities where Oct. 15 will be just another day.

Some Administration supporters are concerned that M-Day will be dominated by confrontation-seeking radicals and perhaps lead to violence. Sam Brown doubts it. He considers the antiwar feeling in the U.S. to be too pervasive to be dominated by any faction. He does not even expect the day's thetoric to gage people in conversation rather than in polemics." he promises.





RHEAULT

RESOR

#### BERETS: GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

THE case of the accused Green Berets, surely one of the most bizarre episodes in the often surrealistic world of spies and counterspies, ended last week in much the way it had begun: by tainting nearly everyone involved in it.

Army Secretary Stanley Resor insisted in one breath that "the Army will not and cannot condone unlawful acts of the kind" his uniformed subordinates had charged eight Green Berets in Viet Nam with committing: namely, the murder of a suspected double agent. Yet in the next moment he announced that the charges were dismissed. He placed the blame on the CIA for refusing to allow its agents to testify against the defendants. That seemed to imply that the CIA was a law unto itself. The White House at first aided that impression, claiming the President had taken no part in the decision. Then Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler conceded that Nixon had approved it. In fact, the President had ordered the dismissals. As for the Berets, they jubilantly claimed to have been exonerated; on their release, some even insisted that there had been no killing, at least not in the legal sense of murder. Yet Thai Khac Chuyen, a Vietnamese employed by the Special Forces, was assuredly dead, and all signs pointed to U.S. responsibility for his death.

Commonplace Killings, Unsatisfactory and untid yas that ending was, it stemmed from a growing conviction in Washington that the impending courtsmartial of the Berets would have been even messier. Two of the nation's most publicized lawyers, Edward Bennett Williams and F. Lee Bailey, had been hired by the defendants and were poised to poptray their clients as victims of nasty rivalries among U.S. intelligence gathering agencies. They would have blistered the U.S. commander in Viet Nam. General Creighton Abrams, for infiniting the charges and would have exposed jeal-ouses between the regular Arms and el killing of double agents by U.S. forese would have been pictured as commonplace. Cla's disputed role in the case would have been just agents in the field might possibly have been compromised. If there had been a trail a seal to be a trail and the common of the

only winner would have been North Viet Nam."

Such a prospect should have been foreseen before eight of the Green Berets stationed in Viet Nam, including the Special Forces commander, Colonel Robert Rheault, were arrested last July. Certainly, when they were charged with the murder of Chuven, the devastating public consequences were clear. Yet it took intense pressure by Congressmen from both parties to get the charges Carolina Democrat Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. As a longtime defender of military appropriations, he has a major say on military matters. Rivers summoned Secretary Resor, argued that the Army's reputation is under enough attack because of the war, and vowed: "I will not see the Army denigrated and downgraded before the world." When Resor insisted that he must stand behind General Abrams and pursue the case, the two quarreled sharply,

Greatest Mockery. The determined Rivers then went over Resor's head. He made his pitch to Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard and Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. Both seemed unhappy with Resor's stand but were unwilling to overrule him in an intramural Army matter. Rivers then asked to see the President. Nixon ducked the confrontation, but sent his Congressional Aide Bryce Harlow to hear Rivers' plea. Rivers hardly needed to point out that he is a chief advocate of the President's ABM authorization bill that was before the House. What he did do was threaten to give three of the Berets a chance to rebut all charges in public hearings before his committee. If the courts-martial were held, he warned, they would become "the greatest mockery since the trial of Christ."

Nixon got the message. While the



PHAM KIM LIEN & SON With a widow's curse.

Joint Chiefs, backing their general in Viet Nam, still urged that the trials be held, Nixon sent Resor to the rostrum to kill the charges and set the Berets free. The claim that the CIA would not allow its agents to testify was only a pretext—and a transparently clumsy one at that—for calling the whole thine off.

Some of the accused officers promptly consulted their attorneys on how to seek compensation from the Army for damage to their reputations or get their names fully cleared. Those prospects seemed dim, and most of the Berets probably agreed with Colonel Rheault, who said on arrival at California's Travis Air Force Base that he hoped history would ignore the affair. "It would better be forgotten as long as people remember that we were exonerated." There is little likelihood of that, but unless some of the Green Berets them. selves tell their full stories, the details of the episode may remain a mystery.

Some Lessons, Why, in a war in which some 3.800 soldiers on both sides die each week, had the killing of one civilian become such a cause célèbre? Partly because Chuyen's slaying exposed the tensions that exist among U.S. agencies carrying out spying activities in Viet Nam and along its borders. Chuyen was employed as an agent and interpreter by the Special Forces, which had assumed some intelligence-gathering duties long the prerogative of the CIA. The Berets suspected him of being a double agent and shot him, claiming that the CIA had ordered the execution, then rescinded it too late. Not so, claims the CIA, it only suggested that Chuyen be turned over to the South Vietnamese. CIA sources even raised the ugly possibility last week that it had all been a matter of mistaken identity. claimed that the Berets were no longer certain that Chuyen actually was the man spotted talking to the Viet Cong in a photo taken inside an enemy camp.

Regardless of who was right, the Berets were ordered prosecuted by the Army's General Abrams, who was incemed at being lied to by the Berets. They told the general that Chupen was the properties of the Berets of the Berets time when he actually was dead. Abrams apparently was determined to dramatize this insistence that the Special Forces must operate under his command. It will be difficult for Washington to Rep the case closed; it demands that ways the case closed; by the confighting each other-cut. S. spec from fighting each other-cut.

Probably the only person more furious than Abrams with the decision was Pham Kim Lien, the 29-year-old widow of the victim Thai Khae Chuyen. Last week she alternately threatened to join the Viet Cong, kill henself and her two children, or Take her case to the United Nations. The soul of my husband," she said, "will follow those who shalled him." She want \$3.8.40 in repsulted him. She want \$3.8.40 in replated him. She for the proper of the her husband's pay, in order to see her

#### THE KENNEDYS

#### Back from Chappaquiddick After a month's hiatus, all of the un-

answered questions were due to take shape again this week as the Massachusetts Supreme Court meets to consider whether—and on what ground still whether the state of the state of the death of Mary Io Kopechne. Yet the issue of the case have been more psychological and political than legal. Ever since Edward Kennedy's black sedan dropped off the Dike Bridge on Chapgualdickie on July 18, the question of payalled the proposed of the payalled the proton on paill—has been tried in the national mind, and in Kennedy's.

The popular verdict is difficult to discern and could still be considerably altered if Kennedy, at an inquest or in some other forum, can provide a more complete explanation of his behavior on Chappaquiddick. Kennedy is privately convinced that he will eventually be able to persuade millions of Americans of his innocence. But he is certain that an equal number will never believe him. In his own mind, however, Kennedy has obviously learned to live with the tragedy of Mary Jo Kopechne's death and his political misfortunes. In recent days, he has displayed a marked resilience. He has lost 20 lbs.-leading to a Capitol Hill sick joke: "There must be an easier way to lose weight." He is clear-eyed, the puffy jowls are gone, his hair is razor-cut in the back with the sideburns shorter. His handshake is firm once more

Last week, as Kennedy was rushing to a Senate-House conference, he encountered a couple with a teen-age daughter. When the father raised his camera, Kennedy asked, "Do you want a picture? Stand here with me." The excited mother and daughter posed with Kennedy while the father snapped away. A few weeks ago, Kennedy would have walked by with his eyes on the floor.

Questions of Secrecy. He may have forsaken any presidential ambition for 1972, but Kennedy is now determined to prove that he deserves re-election next year as an active Senator. A nearly total immersion in Senate business has also acted as a kind of therapy. Occasionally, he fears that he has lost some effectiveness. During a hearing of his Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, for example, Kennedy upbraided Federal Trade Commission Chairman Paul Rand Dixon. Later in the hearing, Maryland Senator Charles Mathias defended Dixon against accusations of undue secrecy and suggested that the FTC practice of not publicizing complaints against various firms was akin to grand jury procedures-which are held in secret.

Although Mathias' reference was unintentional, it reminded everyone present of Kennedy's effort to avoid a public inquest. Kennedy looked downcast and did not pursue the matter of FTC secrecy any further. Similarly, Kennedy was uncharacteristically restrained during Judiciary Committee hearings on Judge Clement Haynsworth's nomination to the Supreme Court.

Yet he was finding his confidence again on other fronts. As Democratic whip, Kennedy happily took over the majority leadership last week during a brief absence by Mike Mansfield. He skillfully managed to restore \$3.9 million in committee to an education program for Eskimo and Indian children



KENNEDY AT HEARING ON FTC Work has become therapy.

—and was scheduled to meet in New Mexico early this week with Indian leaders to discuss the bill. He floor-managed a National Science Foundation bill that resulted in a half-billion-dollar authorization. He led a fight to kill a \$45 million appropriation to extend the west front of the Capitol, a particularly fatuous project promoted by some aparticularly fatuous project promoted by some aparticularly fatuous project promoted by some most prominent voices of dissent against the Administration's Viet Namo nolicies.

Losing the Young. In his private life, Kennedy has also recovered some exuberance. He took time off last week to attend his son Teddy's eighth birth-day party—blowing up balloons and directing football games. He appears frequently at Washington parties now, although he generally does not stay long.

No one doubts that Kennedy's national stature remains much diminished. A Gallup poll showed him running behind Maine's Edmund Musike and former Vice President Hubert Humphrey against Richard Nixon. The traditional Kennedy constituency—made up of the young, women, blacks—were especially disliusioned. His once unassailable powside, though Bay State Republicans probably have no hope of defeating him next year. And it remains possible that the reopening of the Kopechne case will damage him further.

For all that, Kennedy, if not the extravert he once was, is far from being the abject introvert that he became after Mary Jo Kopechne's death. In a political sense, Kennedy seems to be learning to survive what might have seemed his certain destruction.

#### TRIALS

The Risk of Mockery
"Drama is anything you can get away

with !

-Revolution for the Hell of It, by Abbie Hoffman.

In Chicago, the dramatis personae include a wizened, erratic and irascible judge who admits that "I am not an altogether modest fellow." The prosecutor is an ambitious young U.S. attorney held over from the Democratic Administration to try eight of the nation's leading radicals on an anticonspiracy law that may very well be ultimately found unconstitutional. The defendants, who throw kisses at the jury, call the judge a "racist," and fully expect to go to jail, insist that their proper jury is "the peoples of the world." The setting is Richard Daley's Chicago, hungry for vindication but now targeted for the same sort of demonstrations that disrupted the Democratic Convention.

Abbie Hoffman, the Yippie leader and one of the wilder defendants, could probably wish for much zanier touches. In any case, even in its second week, the Chicago "conspiracy" trial was be-



DEFENSE LAWYERS ROBERTS, TIGAR, LEFCOURT & KENNEDY
Overreaction to a breach.

coming a classic American drama of the sixties.

Judge Julius J. Hoffman, 74, arrogated the star's role to himself. With occasionally histrionic flourishes, he has consistently overruled defense motions and objections. When four lawyers who had helped to prepare the defense sent telegrams withdrawing from the case, Judge Hoffman issued bench warrants for their arrest. He ordered two of them-Gerald B. Lefcourt of New York and Michael Tigar of Santa Monica-jailed for contempt. The others-Michael Kennedy of San Francisco and Dennis Roberts of Oakland-obtained a supervening order from a U.S. district judge in San Francisco, Ordinarily, a lawyer appears in court to withdraw from a case; Hoffman was overreacting to a relatively minor breach of courtroom protocol, Although Judge Hoffman later canceled his order, 13 members of the Harvard Law School faculty asked the Illinois Bar Association to investigate his actions. Said the 13: "Judge Hoffman's conduct can only serve to weaken a basic American principle: the right of even the most unpopular defendant to adequate legal representation before an impartial judge.

Grounds for Appeel. Some legal experts believe that Judge Hoffman's behavior has already paved the way for a successful appeal, should the eight be convicted of conspiring to foment riots at the convention. The defense argues that, among other things, the judge failed to question prospective jurous thoroughly to ensure a semblance of lingaritatily by the convention of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the proposal of the surface of the proposal of the proposa

Another ground for appeal might lie

in an episode last week that resulted in Hoffman's ordering the jury sequestered for the duration of the trial-a matter of three months or longer. Someone sent letters to the homes of two jurors declaring: "We are watching you. The Black Panthers." One assumption was that the Panthers were trying to intimidate jurors because one of their leaders. Bobby Seale, is among the defendants. But since the defense regarded both of the "threatened" jurors as relatively sympathetic, Seale lashed back that the letters had actually been sent by "the FBI and/or other lackey foolish pig agents" in an effort to tamper with the jury. One of the two jurors, a 23-yearold customer's representative, had not even seen the letter; her family had concealed it from her. Hoffman showed it to her in court, then asked if she could still render an impartial verdict, "No, said the girl, who was startled and shaken. The second woman who received the letter claimed that it would not affect her judgment. Defense lawyers, however, argued that Hoffman himself had deprived them of one presumably sympathetic juror by showing her the threatening note.

There were other accusations that Judge Hoffman's conduct precluded a fair trial. The Washington Post's Nicholas von Hoffman, for example, reported that while riding up to the court-room on an elevator, he overheard the judge declare: "Now we will hear this wild man, Weinglass"—a reference to Defense Attorney Leonard Weinglass.

Many radicals undoubtedly would like to turn the conspiracy trial into a mockery. But so far, says Russell Fairbanks of the Rutgers University Law School, "the court is doing a pretty good job of that themselves."

#### MASSACHUSETTS

**Bad Sign for Nixon** 

Normally, off-year congressional elections turn on little more than local issues and personalities. These are not normal times, however, and the results of last week's contest for a vacant seat from Massachusetts' Sixth District carried implications far beyond the gritty shoe factories at Lynn or the fishing boats off the gray Gloucester coast.

Both candidates took strong, contrasting stands on national issues, turning the contest into a virtual mini-referendum on the Nixon Administration. The Republican, State Senator William Saltonstall, 42, campaigned almost down the line with the Administration on Viet Nam, the ABM and tax reform. In contrast, Democrat Michael J. Harrington, 33, a state representative, opposed Administration policies, attacking the ABM. calling for total withdrawal from Viet Nam by 1970 and criticizing high military spending.

Although the district had not had a Democratic Congressman since 1877, recent shifts have put power in the hands of independents. Aware of this, both parties poured in major out-of-state support. The Democrats sent in Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, George McGovern and Allard Lowenstein. The G.O.P. countered with staff men and professional advice from the national party headquarters in Washington. Senator Edward Brooke returned home to plump for Saltonstall, and Edward Kennedy made radio spots for Harrington.

Other Factors. Harrington won by a margin of 6,500 out of 137,000 votes cast. This was a major defeat for the Nixon Administration, indicating dissatisfaction with its policies, particularly Viet Nam. It was the third G.O.P. House seat lost to the Democrats in special elec-

HAPPINGTON Mayerick with ambition

tions since Nixon took office, and was particularly galling as the seat had been held for 19 years by William H. Bates, ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee and backer of military intervention in Viet Nam.

Saltonstall, son of former Senator and Governor Leverett Saltonstall, had a clear advantage with his famous name, although he was a less engaging campaigner than the somewhat wooden Harrington. But Saltonstall carried his fealty to Nixonian policies to extremes. He also engaged Harrington in two televised debates. This contrasted the Democrat's rapid-fire manner of speech with Saltonstall's inarticulateness

Harrington, whose father was mayor of Salem, is an outspoken maverick whose independence is equaled by his ambition. Before the election was won, he was already talking of his next target: taking on the popular Ed Brooke for Senator in 1972

#### ATLANTA The Great Hippie Hunt

No major American city has been more eager to prove itself progressive than Atlanta. In eight short years under Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., civic leaders have successfully peeled away the old image of a sleepy Southern town, replacing it with that of a racially enlightened and artistically active city. The transformation has been profitable, luring outside investment and resulting in a phenomenal business expansion

Atlanta has also acquired other symbols of metropolitan America: a flourishing colony of bearded and dungareed hippie youth and a visible coterie of homosexuals. Since June, police and state solicitor general's agents, with the tacit approval of the city administration and Atlanta's business community, have waged war against these so-called undesirables, treating them as the greatest threat to the city since General Sherman.

The main target is the 1,000 or so hippie types who congregate along Peachtree Street, just north of downtown. Atlanta police have stepped up patrols of the area, often stopping and threatening those of unorthodox appearance. Young people are arrested on such specious charges as loitering, jaywalking and obscenity. Shops and homes are raided, ostensibly in search of drugs, but so often that occupants claim they

Police also harry hippie rallies and picket lines and have sprayed protesters indiscriminately with Mace. Two weeks ago, a peaceful rock-music concert disintegrated into a small riot, resulting in some 20 arrests, after a detective reportedly drew his pistol on jeering hippies. A college professor's wife who was trying to calm an enraged cop was clubbed on the head and later handcuffed to a hospital chair for two hours. awaiting six stitches.

One youth, jailed for loitering, spent nine days in solitary confinement recently when he refused to shave off his



ATLANTA POLICE SUBDUE YOUTH Highly selective enforcement.

beard and cut his hair. Another youth's 60-day sentence for a minor driving infraction was suspended after he agreed to get a haircut as ordered by the judge a former barber.

Homosexuals are getting the same rough treatment. Police question strollers in city parks, gathering places for homosexuals. Recently, cops halted cars at night in Piedmont Park and photographed startled occupants for police intelligence files. Solicitor general's agents are also roving photographers these days; raiding a theater showing Andy Warhol's Lonesome Cowboys, they snapped pictures as customers-including a minister-were marched out.

Leather Aardvark. Police zeal for law enforcement has been highly selective. Cops have ignored the crew-cut "straight" toughs who prey on hippies. Seven hippies were recently shotgunned from a moving car and hospitalized, only to have police drag six of them to jail for disturbing the peace. So far, no shooting suspects have been arrested. Last month a hippie cooperative store was fire-bombed. Susie and Ron Jarvis, owners of a craft shop called The Leather Aardvark, claim snipers put 27 bullet holes in the front of their store. When Ron complained to police, he was arrested for shooting back. Says Ron bitterly: "We've got a new nigger in our society, and the way to tell him is by his hair and his beard.

His allusion is ironic in a city that glories in its progressive race relations. Business runs Atlanta, and the city's liberal façade is based partly on the precept that good race relations are good for business. Hippie types and homosexuals apparently are not. Charles Weltner, liberal former Congressman, says dryly: "There just ain't no percentage in hippies if you're a businessman."

There was a brief respite last week. Cops eased up because the crackdown publicity was helping Everett Millican in his campaign for mayor against the Establishment candidate. Hippie arrests dropped, but protesting cops staged a slowdown on other offenders as well, while Governor Lester Maddox charged "cowardly politicians" with extriction of the coargoon Mayor Allen backs the crackdown, and the cops are likely to be unshackled again after primary day,

Arrivite Big City, Some official corern is understandable. The hippies have brought drug pedders, drifters and other hangers-on in their train; the noisy Fredmont Park homosexusik were distormed to the properties of the properties of however, have had these problems in far more severe form and have dealt with them without infringing on civil liberties. Compared with Northern cities a little punhadding or compared to the state of the properties of the properties of the of minor asset as a tourist attraction.

Perhaps Atlanta's overreaction is a reflection of its inscentify as an arriviste big city. Recently there have been some enouraging signs of maturity. Letters to the newspapers reflect a growing revultions, among them the Atlanta Bar-Association, have formed a committee to protest. This followed by several weeks the lead of the Unitarian Universalist Congregation, which demanded "normal, sympathetic poice protection reugage or individual behavior."

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS Golda's Odyssey

After their three days of talks with Isneel Premier Golda Meir, Richard Nixon and his aides could only be impressed by her single-mindedness. She came to Washington to seek jets and arms, but not peace through compromise. Outwardly, the Premier is the arnettypical, haminisheh (homey) Jewish grandma. In fact, as she amply demnostrated on her visit, Golda Meir is among the toughest, ablest and smooth peaceful discounted all U.S.-Soviet efforts to find a solution to the dangerous Mideast crisis.

Even after leaving Washington for a cross-country odyssey last week, Golda took every opportunity to press Israel's hard line. During a Zionist youth rally at Manhattan's Madson Square Garden, she scoffed at those who sak "us to give something to help Nasser. He's light can't bring myself to feel took younghateic." I just can't bring myself to feel took ympathetic."

tioned a rumor that she was going for a medical checkup before returning to Israel, she said: "It's nothing serious. A touch of cancer here, a little tuberculosis here—you name it." Then she disposed of the rumor with one of her favorite words: "Nonsense" At a kooher affair seum, she even did a little campaigning for hard-pressed Mayor John Lindsay, who desperately needs the Jewish vote to win re-election next month. Golda called him "my good friend John," as a say's eloquence to tell what is in my say's eloquence to tell what is in my

heart tonight."

From New York, the Premier's El Al Airlines jet (christened by the crew 'Golda à Go-Go') winged westward to Los Angeles. At a star-studded formal dinner, Jack Benny explained that he was acting as toustmaster "only because bob Hope is a gentile." Golda, who is Bob Hope is a gentile. "Golda, who is the receiving line—unable to quite sort ut the Kirk Douglasse from the Rita



Among the toughest Zionists ever.

Marrows. She realized that film stars and politicians have inflated egos, and that not being recognized is, for them, the crowning insult. Later, TimE Correspondent Leo Janos, who traveled with Mrs. Meir, asked how many of them she had recognized. "Only Robinson," she admitted, "What is if? Edward Robinson, I met him in Israel."

After one day in Los Angeles, Mrs. Meir flew to Milwauke to visit the Fourth Street School. When Goldie Mabovitch was eight years old, her family emigrated from Kiev, Russia, to Miliwauke. The three-story brick school, which she attended for six years, is physically almost unchanged. However, it is now in the center of the city's ghetto, and all the students are black.

They had prepared for two weeks for the visit, and when Golda entered the school's auditorium she was greeted by black children wearing paper hats topped by the Star of David. The proud principal presented her with a scrapbook, which included a report card from Goldie's seventh-grade class. The grades were all in the 90s, but the teacher complained that young Goldie was something of a chatterbox.

As the Premier was about to leave the auditorium, the children began to sing-in Hebrew-Shalom Chaverim (Peace, Friends). Obviously moved, Mrs. Meir ignored her security guards and plunged into the audience, shaking children's hands and hugging many of them. On the return flight to New York, Golda recalled Milwaukee not so much for her life there, but for what it led to. "That was the city," she said, "where I made the most important decision of my life." That decision was to move to Palestine in 1921. Since then, the establishment of a safe haven for Jewry has been her life's only ambition. As one of her aides put it: "When her husband proposed to her, she made marriage conditional on their moving to Palestine. He promised that they would, but later he wanted to return to America. So she divorced him."

#### CRIME

#### To Catch a Cop

For five years, the New Orleans Police Department had been deviled by an exceptionally skillful gang of thieves. Their scores totaled a spectacular \$500,-000 in cash and \$1,400,000 in jewels. Their methods were dazzling. In 1966, for example, two members of the gang. masquerading as the crew of an armored car, wheeled up to Schwegmann Bros. Grant supermarket, picked up \$186,000 in cash, gave the manager a receipt and disappeared. Eight days later, burglars chopped through the roof of the Coleman E. Adler & Sons jewelry firm and dropped into the store to spend hours burning open the main vault with acetylene torches. They left with \$1,000,000 worth of jewels.

It was no wonder that the gang was difficult to catch. Last week the diamaged New Dieans police superintensmayed New Dieans police superintenses. The superintenses of the superintenses of the superintenses of burglary had been filed charges of burglary had been filed against seven policemen and five former cops. Eight more policemen were suspended for refusing to take lie detector tests. It was the nation's worst police scandal of the decade.

And the control of th

#### THE WORLD

#### WEST GERMANY: OUTCASTS AT THE HELM ty, with 15.2 million votes or 46.1% of

BISMARCK barred them from political life, and Kaiser Wilhelm scourged them as an unpatriotic rabble. Konrad Adenauer, who presided over the rebirth of West Germany, dismissed them as unfit to govern, and for years millions of his countrymen agreed. Last week, in the wake of one of the closest elections in the 20-year history of the Federal Republic, the Social Democrats, long the outcasts of German politics, prepared to take power. Unless the coalition carefully pasted together with the Free Democrats suddenly comes unstuck, Willy Brandt will be sworn in as the Chancellor of West Germany on Oct. 21, thus becoming the first So-cialist to lead a German government since 1930.

This was an election that could easily have earned Germany new notoriety in the international community. The right-wing National Democrats of Adolf ("Bubi") von Thadden might have won 5% of the national vote and thereby earned the right to sit in the Bundestag (parliament); in that case, fears of renascent Nazism would have chilled much of the world. As it turned out, the National Democrats were able to draw only 4.3%. Far from becoming a black mark against West Germany's name, the election turned into what could well prove a historic turning point.

It was Brandt's own daring as much as the actual election results that brought the Socialists to the brink of power. Neither of the two major parties won an outright majority. The long dominant Christian Democrats, who had promised "no experiments," remained the largest parthe total-a 1.5% decline from the last election in 1965. The Socialists, who pledged to "Build the Modern Germany," won 14 million votes, increasing their 1965 percentage by 3.4% and capturing 42.7% of the electorate. Ironically, the party that ended up holding the balance of power was the one that had lost the most: the Free Democrats. an unlikely assortment of conservative and far-left liberals, had lost 19 of their 49 seats in the Bundestag, and their share of the total vote dropped from 9.5% in 1965 to a mere 5.8% -iust above the 5% required for representation in the Bundestag. After three days of intense negotiations, the Free Democrats, who are led by Walter Scheel, threw their slight but decisive weight behind Brandt. At week's end the onetime outcast of West German politics informed President Gustav Heinemann that he was prepared to form a government in coalition with the Free Democrats and rule the Federal Republic.

#### Consigned to the Past

It was an auspicious moment for a party that not too long ago seemed irretrievably locked into the role of the opposition, unable to break its blue-collar mold and incapable of attracting much more than one-third of the voters. Throughout the country there was a deep and exciting awareness that a watershed had been reached. After 20 years of uninterrupted rule, Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger's Christian Democrats prepared to take their places on the op-

position benches. Said the conservative Bayern Kurier: "The political generation of postwar times finally belongs to the past.

Not unlike the Democrats and Republicans, Germany's two major parties share many fundamental beliefs, including a firm commitment to NATO and a desire for British entry into the Common Market. But in style as well as substance, there are important differences. While the Christian Democrats are older and more cautious, the Social Democrats emphasize youth and a flair for innovation. While the Germany of Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard and Kiesinger was a reliable if overly dependent partner of the West, Brandt's Socialists are certain to be more assertive and fluid, especially in foreign relations.

In an effort to ease the tensions that have contorted Central Europe since the end of World War II, they are committed to launch bold new initiatives toward the Soviet Union and its East European allies. At home, the Socialists promised to bring an innovative ap-proach to problems of university reform, youthful unrest and individual rights. Among their first acts is likely to be an upward revaluation of the muscular German mark, probably fixing its price around the 26.5¢ level to which it has floated since it was cut loose from its old 25¢ price the day after the election (see Business). Also expected swiftly is ratification of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty-a move that could persuade several smaller, weaker countries to sign the document.

A change of power was bound to be



BRANDT AS CHILD



AGE TWELVE



IN NORWEGIAN UNIFORM

beneficial for West Germany, Twenty years in office is a long time for any party, especially in Germany, with its authoritarian heritage, Furthermore, West Germany has lacked an effective political opposition since the Socialists joined Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger's Grand Coalition three years ago.

There were also risks. Willy Brandt's partnership with the Free Democrats might prove precarious from a practical standpoint because the Free Democrats are a schizophrenic party. It was formed in 1948, composed largely of business and professional men who found the C.D.U. too "black" or Catholic and the S.P.D. too "red" or socialistic. At first the F.D.P. was dominated by a right wing of nay-sayers-businessmen who thought there was too much welfare spending, Protestants wary of the C.D.U.'s heavy Catholic influence, nationalists who felt Bonn was too pro-American. Scheel belonged to the Free Democrats' younger left wing, and when he took over 21 months ago, he set about transforming party policy from right of the C.D.U. to left of the S.P.D. on a number of important issues. Since there are still conservatives in his party that resent the leftward move, the party could conceivably break apart under the strain of government and leave Brandt stranded without a majority in the Bundestag.

There is some question whether Brandt will make a good Chancellor. Reserved and thin-skinned. Brandt may find the perpetual pummeling that high office brings unbearable. Furthermore. his own past-his illegitimate birth, his "defection" from Nazi Germany and acceptance of Norwegian citizenshipturns many Germans from him. Those very credentials, however, enable him to speak far more candidly about Germany's past than Kiesinger, who had been a Nazi official. As mayor of West

Berlin and later as Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister in the Grand Coalition, Brandt performed admirably. In Berlin, he coolly faced down the Soviets during the 1959 crisis, when Nikita Khrushchev threatened the city's links to the West. As Bonn's foreign policy expert since 1966, he began an Ostpolitik diplomacy, seeking new amity with the East that his government is certain to emphasize with new vigor.

#### Little Coalition

Seldom has such a momentous political change been caused by such a small shift in the vote. As the first returns trickled in, computers forecast that the Christian Democrats would make a strong showing. The outcome seemed so certain that in the early evening President Nixon sent a congratulatory message via the Washington-Bonn "hot-line" teletype to Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger.

Later, as the trend changed by mere fractions of points, the C.D.U.'s lead dwindled until it was left with 242 seats, seven short of a majority in the 496-seat Bundestag. Together, the Socialists with 224 seats and the Free Democrats with 30 held a margin of twelve seats over the C.D.U. Earlier, Brandt had declared that he would need a majority of 13 to 30 seats to put together a coalition with the Free Democrats. The moment he caught a whiff of power, however, he lowered his sights. Surrounded by a dozen close colleagues in Bonn's drab Socialist headquarters, which are aptly called "the Barracks, Brandt announced just before midnight: "I'll do it, even if we have only a majority of two." With that, he telephoned the Free Democrats' Walter Scheel to ask if he were interested in trying to form a coalition.

Brandt offered Scheel the foreign ministry, plus two middle-level posts (interior and agriculture) in the 15-mem-



CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS' KURT KIESINGER Assuming an unaccustomed role.

ber Cabinet. Belatedly, the C.D.U. weighed in with an even more generous offer, including both the foreign and finance ministries. Said one Free Democrat: "The C.D.U. is willing to give us everything but the chancellorship," Too late. In a party caucus, the Socialists unanimously voted for the "Little Coalition" with the Free Democrats. With three members abstaining, the Free Democrats also endorsed the union. According to the present schedule. President Heinemann will nominate Brandt as Chancellor on Oct. 19, the Bundestag will vote on the proposal two days later, and if he wins the election, Brandt will be formally installed the same day

Manfully, the Christian Democrats insisted that it might not be so bad, after all, to play the role of the opposition against a shaky coalition. As the largest party, the Christian Democrats will have a tight grip on the many key committees; they also will be able to delay and block legislation in the Bundesrat (upper house), where they still command

#### Worth the Risk

After an initial period of indecision, Kiesinger decided that he would direct the opposition in the Bundestag himself. But the C.D.U. leaders were also confronted with some fundamental decisions about the party's direction. There will be a chorus of voices, probably led by Bayarian Party Chief Franz-Josef Strauss, favoring a move toward the right to attract those who may desert the defeated National Democrats, There are certain to be strong tugs in the other direction as well to keep the party in the middle of Germany's political spectrum. The Christian Democrats will not only have to resolve those conflicting pressures but also to produce new faces and more attractive ideas. A





DANCING WITH WIFE RUT AT A BALL

promise to preserve the status quo is no longer an appealing platform.

For Brandt, the swift move to snatch the chancellorship from the C.D.U. is obviously the gamble of his career. In the unlikely event that the Free Democrats do not hold to their bargain, his action in hastily forming a government will appear overeager and precipitous. Once in power, he will still face severe problems of operating with a narrow majority. There is also the possibility that the Christian Democrats may try to induce defections among the Free Democrats who belong to the conservative wing of the party. Brandt is betting that the Socialists will do so well in office that even if the Free Democrats should defect after a year or so, he could call new elections and win a sub-

stantial margin of seats. In any event, to Brandt it is worth the gamble if it means the Socialists can once again hold the power that has so often eluded them.

German socialism is rooted in the French Revolution,
the dialectics of Hegel and
the philosophy of Karl
Marx, who as a German
exile in London took a special interest in the activities
of his brethren in the homeland. The party itself was
not formally founded, however, until 1869, when the
German Workers Party was
born in Eisenach.
Power did not come eas-

rower did not come easily to the Socialists. Though they are Germany's oldest political party, until now they have been in power for only two brief periods during the 100 years of their existence. As advocates of internationalism, democra-

cy, a distinct separation between church and state and improved social conditions, the Socialists naturally aroused deep sustionalistic Germany of the 19th centornalistic Germany 19th centornalistic

The state of the s

archy while the war was still going on. In 1928, another Socialist-led government took power. But Germany, beset pinflation and plagued by increasing political violence, proved ungovernable. After the Socialists resigned over cuts in unemployment into the complex power of the contracting under the power of the Socialists' enemies—the brown-shirted Nazis of Adolf Hiller.

#### Street Fighter

The rivalry between the Nazis and Socialists spilled over into bloody street battles that erupted all over Germany. In the Baltic seaport of Lübeck, the Nazis met a tough opponent in a husky, squarejawed youth named Herbert Karl Frahm, a member of the Socialist youth club.



JULIUS LEBER AWAITING SENTENCE IN BERLIN (1944)

Death for a political father.

The son of an unmarried shopgirl whose lover had deserted her before the child's birth. Herbert Karl and his mother lived as boarders in the home of a chauffeur whose own wife had little patience with the child. Perhaps to compensate for his unhappy circumstances, the boy excelled at school, winning a scholarship to the Lübeck gymnasium, and developed an abiding interest in politics. Because of his lower-class origins, his inclination was instinctively socialist. "Social responsibility and a sense of iustice are probably rooted more deeply when they are based on personal experience," he once said. He soon attracted the attention of one of Germany's most influential Socialists, Julius Leber, who represented Lübeck in the Reichstag. Leber encouraged the gifted youngster to write articles for the local party newspaper, which he did under the pen name Willy Brandt. As Brandt later wrote: "I had grown up without a father; there was an emptiness in my life. Leber filled it."

In 1933, only a few days after Hitler

had seized power, Julius Leber was beaten by Nazi storm troopers and put under arrest. His young protégé helped organize a protest rally. Then, in danger of arrest by the newly formed Gestapo (secret police), the 19-year-old youngster hopped aboard a fishing boat in Lübeck and made his way to Norway. When the Germans invaded Norway in 1940, Brandt put on a Norwegian soldier's uniform in an attempt to evade detection by the Gestapo, who would have arrested him for his resistance connections. The ruse worked, and after a four-week internment as a prisoner of war, Brandt was released as harmless. He quickly made his way by auto and foot across Norway to neutral Sweden, where he later was joined by his Norwegian wife, Karlota. While in Stockholm, Brandt learned that Julius Leber had been executed as one of the conspirators in the plot to kill Hitler and end the war.

#### The Other Germans

After Germany's defeat, Brandt, who then had become a Norwegian citizen, returned to his shattered former homeland to cover the war-crime trials at Nürnberg for Scandinavian papers. While reporting on the trials, Brandt wrote a thoughtful book entitled Criminals and Other Germans, in which he pointed out that while the guilty Nazis should be punished, there also were decent Germans who could be counted on to build a democratic nation.

In late 1946, Brandt arrived in Berlin as a Norwegian major assigned to liaison work with the Four Power Control Commission that was run by Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the U.S. As a member of the occupying force, Brandt enjoyed privileges and comforts of the victors, but he felt a growing obligation toward Germany.

A major influence on him was Ernst Reuter, a Socialist professor who had returned from exile in Turkey. Reuter was leading the struggle in Berlin against Russian attempts to force the Socialist to join the Communitist in a single party. At the end of 1947, Brandt became a German citizen again, explaining the structure of the st

As the rivalry between the U.S. and Russia deepened, Berlin, 110 miles behind the Iron Curtain, became the principal tension point. As an aide to Reuter, who had been elected mayor, Brandt was in the front trench of the Cold War. In 1949, after the Allied airlift and the resistance of West Berlin 1942, and the Prostance of West Berlin 1942, and per lockade of the city, Brandt became West Berlin's representative to Bonn, where a new West German government was being formed. Though the Socialists felt they deserved to lead the new Germany, they won only 29.2%

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#### GENERAL DYNAMICS

of the vote in the first national election. As a result, the newly formed Christian Democratic Union, led by Konrad Adenauer, came to power with the margin of a single vote in the Bundestag.

Adenauer's Christian Democrats steered West Germany into a close alliance with the West and presided over the great economic boom-the Wirtschaftswunder-that brought unparalleled prosperity to the country. The Socialists meanwhile remained locked in the "30% ghetto," unable to broaden their support beyond workers and left-wing intellectuals. The Socialists' leader, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, was strangely out of tune with the political realities of West Germany. He favored neutrality at a time when West Germans wanted the Western Allies to protect them from the Russians; he called for a tightly controlled economy at a time when Germany was just emerging from the tightly centralized direction of the Nazi period. At a time of great social flux, Schumacher retained the party's unfortunate old image of proletarians who were not salonfähig-fit to be brought into the parlor.

#### Dumping Marx

Willy Brandt also felt locked into a more personal ghetto. Though the Socialists ruled West Berlin, the fact that he was not a native Berliner handicapped his rise within the party. As he turned 40, Brandt was an extremely frustrated man. Then, in the course of one night in 1956, Brandt became the hero of West Berlin. The occasion was a protest rally in West Berlin against the Soviet suppression of Hungary. A crowd of nearly 100,000 West Berliners was headed toward the Soviet sector of Berlin at Brandenburg Gate, crying "Russians, get out!" Brandt commandeered a sound truck and managed to divert most of the marchers to the memorial for the victims of Communist tyranny, far back from the sector borders. But even as Brandt addressed the crowd, word came that a small breakaway group had pushed through police lines near the gate and was advancing toward the East German guards. Rushing to the scene, Brandt averted a certain blood bath by persuading the column to turn back. His plucky courage impressed even the selfassured Berliners, to whom he suddenly became "unser Willy"-our Willy. The following year Brandt was elected governing mayor of West Berlin

changing mood within the Socialist Party in West Germany. Restless Socialists, less interested in rigid dogmas than a chance to get into the parlor, demanded a change. Under the guidance of Herbort's who is the party's chief strategies, the Socialists at a crucial meeting at Bad Godeberg in 1959 dumped their mastern themsless from a party of the workers into ma about class warfare and the rule of the proletariat, the Socialists endosed a

Brandt's victory coincided with a

mixed economy, the profit motive, parliamentary democracy and a close military alliance with the West. They even settled their old feud with the church. "Socialism," proclaimed the Bad Godesberg platform, "is not a substitute for religion."

Brandt became the standard-bearer for the revitalized party. In the 1961 elections, he waged a U.S.-style campaign, stomping the country and pumping hands, that raised the S.P.D. share of the vote to 36.2%. In 1965, the Socialist's showing rose to 39.3%, but the C.D.U. remained in power under Ludwig second straight defeat, and once again his party had failed to break through the 40% barrier. Discouraged, Brandt went into a personal decline, marked by long



SCHEEL WITH WIFE & STEPDAUGHTER Winning while losing.

periods of introspection. Observers revived his old nickname, "Weinbrand Willy," because of his liking for brandy. During this period he collected a series of essays under the title Draussen (Outside). He had no idea how close he was to the inside.

In late 1966, in a protest against tas hikes, the Free Democrats suddenly resigned as partners in Erhard's coalition Cabinet. For five weeks, West Germany drifted without an effective government, while Socialist Strategist Wehner pondered a dilemma: Should the S.P.D., out with the unpredictable Free Democrats and risk making a mess of things? Or should it bid is time and join a C.D.U.-led Grand Coalition to show voters that they were capable of governing the country? Wehner chose the second course, and the experiment turned out to be a and the experiment turned out to be a

In the Grand Coalition, the nine Socialist Ministers (out of 19) were the stars of the government. Socialist Economics Minister Karl Schiller guided West Germany out of its economic slump; Transportation Minister Georg Leber (no relation to Julius) began unclogging Western Germany's Autobahnen by forcing freight off the roads and back onto the deficit-ridden rails. Foreign Minister Brandt conducted an imaginative eastward-looking policy. Meanwhile the Free Democrats were moving away from conservative policies and closer to those of the Socialists, Last March, Socialist and Free Democrat members of the Bundestag joined forces to elect Gustav Heinemann as the first Socialist head of state in the 20-year history of the Federal Republic. It was a harbinger of things to come

The Free Democrats' Scheel began to consider the possibility of a more lasting alliance with the Socialists. Engaging and affable ("I'm a court jester, just a king's fool"), Scheel is nonetheless considered to be a skillful politician, who, as Foreign Minister, will bring a light and sensitive touch to German diplomacy.

#### Metaphysical Lederhosen

Last week's pattern of voting buttressed the Socialist's optimism. In a country whose population is steadily growing younger, increasingly affluent and more urbanized, they outletes the first-time voters, well-paid voters and city dwellers. They made inroads into the Carbolic vote and the female vote, two blocs usually overwhelmighy loyal to the C.D.U. In the Bonn area, the Sotimonial that the government employees like to work for them.

Much of the credit for the electoral gains belongs to the team around Brandt (see box, page 32). In pre-election polls, Brandt trailed both Kiesinger and his own Economies Minister Karl Schiller, who emerged as West Germany's popular politicain. But Socialist publicists wisely played up the theme, "we have the right men."

A striking feature of Brandt's team is its relative youth in a land where "Opa"-grandpa-was long presumed to know best. Ever since the trauma of the Nazi atrocities and World War II, Germans have shouldered a heavy burden of guilt-their "cartel of anxiety," as they refer to it. But today, twothirds of the men and half of the women among West Germany's 61 million people are under 40 and had little or nothing to do with the war. If many of them are "Hitler's children," born during his rule, the Führer would surely dis-own them. They are painfully aware of their country's Nazi past; two years ago, a public opinion poll showed that 60% of those between the ages of 16 and 29 would rather live in another country.

A similar poll conducted today might show that many more would be willing to stay at home and work at changing the country. To be sure, there are free love communes in West Berlin, potsmokers and hippies in most large cities, but the mood of the young is, by and large, activis. Kignificantly, Nobel prize-

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Opinion surveys show that the majority of students are willing to accept the existence of East Germany as a separate state and to write off the territory beyond the Oder-Neisse line. German students have a deep revulsion to anything that reminds them of Hitler—and that sometimes includes their own parents. At the same time, students who may a few years ago looked to the only a few years ago looked to the enchanted, largely because of the Viet Nam var and U.S. racial disturbances. German students are also strongly an imilitaristic, a fact that will probably prompt the Socialists to cut the tout 15; at present, 200,000 German youths between 19 and 24 are conscripted each year.

Old habits do not vanish overnight, however, and discipline is still next to godliness in the eyes of many Germans. According to one well-known barb, Germans obey the law because it's against the law not to do so. Yet there are signs that even in Germany, discipline is giving way to what Sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, who also happens to be the Free Democrats' leading think-er, calls "the individual search for happiness by people freed of the fetters of tradition and thrown into the affluent society." Writes Dahrendorf in Society and Democracy in Germany:

"Discipline, orderliness, subservience, cleanliness, industriousness, precision, and all the other virtues ascribed by many to the Germans as an echo of past splendor have already given way to a much less rigid set of values, among which economic success, a high income, the holiday trip, and the new car play a much larger part than the virtues of the past. Younger people especially display little of the much praised and much scorned respect for authority, and less of the disciplined virtues that for their fathers were allegedly sacred. A world of highly individual values has emerged, which puts the experienced happiness of the individual in first place and increasingly lets the so-called whole slip from sight.

### The Men Around Brandt







SCHILLER

WEHNER

in Bonn.

SCHMIDT

AS a campaigner, Willy Brandt relied heavily on the Socialist team that devised the party's successful strategy. As Chancellor, Brandt is expected to employ their talents just as fully. Key members of the team:

► Karl Schiller, 58, a former economics professor at Hamburg University. Schiller snapped West Germany out of its first serious economic slump in 1966 with his soziale Symmetrie, a mixed economy combining features of the British welfare state with U.S. free enterprise. A shrewd campaigner who can explain complicated fiscal matters in a way everyone can grasp, Schiller might be considered for the chancellorship some day, despite his diminutive, unprepossessing appearance. Schiller is particularly pleased at having outfoxed the Christian Democrats, who opposed mark revaluation, by convincing housewives that a higher-priced mark would increase their buying power.

► Herbert Wehner, 63, the ex-Communist who masterminds the party's strategy. A terrible-tempered, pipesmoking father figure, Wehner exercises absolute control over the ideological direction of the party. He will be Brandt's most influential adviser, and is likely to

retain the Cabinet post of Minister for All-German Affairs that he held in the Grand Coalition.

• Helmut Schmidt, 50, the party vice

chairman who has served for the past two years as the floor leader in the Bundestag. Because of the problems inolved in operating with a slim majority. Schmidt may remain parliamentary leader. But he is also a candidate for the Defense Ministry, a field in which be the stage of the stage of the prolessor who took over as Justice Minster last July when the former incumster last July when the former incum-

fessor who took over as Justice Minister last July when the former incumbent, Gustav Heinemann, was elected Federal President, A levelheaded liberal, Ehmke is expected to continue in Justice, pressing for a complete revision of Germany's outmoded legal code and sex Jaws

Klaus Schütz, 43, the governing mayor of West Berlin who often does the exploratory spadework when Brandt wants to break new ground. Early last June, Schütz was welcomed as an official guest in Poland, which is now the prime candidate for new diplomatic overtures from Bonn, Schütz will either stay in Berlin or become a key aide to Brandt

#### The Newest Wave

At the same time, more and more Germans seem willing to take an active role in shaping their surroundings. Emulating the questioning, self-critical approach of youth, Germans are beginning to examine their institutions and seek to run them. Parents, once the silent partners of the German Parent-Teacher Associations, demand a voice in how the schools are run. Churchgoers want a say in the allocation of the vast West German church tax resources and even in the selection of priests and higher church officials. Journalists seek the right to participate in the shaping of editorial policy. Germany finally seems to be developing what Novelist Günter Grass calls "voter initiative," a long step toward developing a true participatory democracy.

Recently the Germans have also begun to take a much more objective view of themselves. In the 1950s, according to opinion surveys, only 32% of them felt that their country alone was responsible for the war; now fully 62% believe that the blame was Germany's, a view more in line with the opinion of the rest of the world. In the 1950s, a majority of Germans felt that their image abroad was bad because foreigners were envious of Germany; now they concede that it might be because Germans have some negative characteristics and still have an abominable past to live down.

Even more striking perhaps than the restless mood of youth and the gradual erosion of traditional authority is that enduring wonder, the German economy, which continues to pour forth much of the world's most sought after goods. There are more jobs than workers to fill them. Unemployment in West Germany is a scant one-half of 1 % in a labor force.

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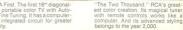
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of 26.3 million, and 1,400,000 foreign workers, mostly from the Mediterranean countries. have been imported.

As befits Teutonic efficiency, West Germans enjoy the world's most perfect color TV, and some of the most incisive documentaries shown anywhere. In the past few years, however, the German literary scene has become less lively, Günter Grass's latest book, Ortlich Betäubt (roughly translated as Locally Anesthetized) is only a faint echo of Tin Drum: Uwe Johnson and Helmut Kirst have not published for several years. It may be that the wartime themes. the grist for German novels for the past 25 years, are beginning to pale. The best-received plays come from Vienna's experimental theaters. But the Stuttgart Ballet may be the world's most exciting dance group, and the German classical theater and opera remain first-rate.

In each successive phase in Germany's postwar development, the country has been seized by a different craze. First the hungry Germans gorged themselves in the Fresswelle (eating wave), then took to wheels in the Verspawelle (motor-scooter wave) that was followed by the Autowelle (auto buying). Next came the Wohnungswelle (home buying) and Rei-swelle (traveling). Now Germans are insevelle (traveling). Now Germans are insevelle (traveling).

undated by the Sexwelle.

Naked girls adorn just about every magazine cover. Under the guise of adult sex education, film makers are cranking out movies with such titles as Your Wife, the Unknown Creature, in which live models demonstrate an astonishing variety of positions for intercourse, while a narrator (naturally a Herr Doktor) supplies clinical comments. Beate Uhse's sex boutiques in eleven cities offer all manner of sexual paraphernalia. Complains one Austrian, who deplores the Germanic lack of spontaneity: "There is a certain plodding quality in the German approach to sex. Boom, Boom, Boom, Now we have discovered sex and we will conquer it." Some Germans claim to see in the Sexwelle a new desire for Germany to place individual happiness ahead of duty to state or community.

#### **Priorities and Policies**

In this atmosphere, Brandt will seek to prove—even more conclusively than it was proved in the Grand Coalition —that his Socialists are eminently regierungsfähig, or able to govern.

And what of Brandt's own ability? He hardly fits the old stereotype of the supereflicient German. Though he usually struggles into his office by 9:00 a.m., he hates to get up and must be handled gingerly until he has had coffee and the first of the 40 or so Attache ci-garillos he smokes each day. "The man is useless until noon," says one of his more animated as the hour grows later.

aides. A night creature, Brandt grows more animated as the hour grows later. During the campaign, his early-afternoon speeches were wooden and broken; by 4 p.m., they were more coherent but still lacked vibrance; by 8, he was witty and forceful, holding the audience in his spell while tossing off withering asides to hostile hecklers. After that, while throwing back glasses of Benedictine and brandy, he often talked with local politicians and swapped political jokes with newsmen until 3 a.m. One of Brandt's favorites: After the Soviet-Czechoslovak summit confrontation at Cierna last summer, Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev turns to Premier Aleksei Kosvgin and asks: "Did vou see that beautiful watch Svoboda was wearing?" "No," replies Kosygin. "Let me see it."

Brandt has been attacked by conservatives for the permissive attitude



HIPPIES IN MUNICH A deep aversion to Adolf.

he and his second wife Rut show toward their two hippie sons. Peter, 21, was arrested last year for participation in a riot, sentenced to a \$50 fine and a four-week suspended jail term. Lars, 18, whose blond hair almost reaches his shoulders, said last week that even hough he considers himself a member of APO. (the far-left Anti-Parlumer coalition. But he expressed serious reservations about having to move from the Brandt home in Venusberg to Bonn's Palais Schaumburg, the residence of German Chancellors.

Vater Brandt has no such reservations. Once in the Palais, he can be expected to deal immediately with mark revaluation and the signing of the nuclear nonproliferation pact (which Kiesinger resisted on the ground that it could leave Germany at a disadvantage in peaceful nuclear research). Brandt's main task will be to look eastward. He and Scheel are agreed on an approach to East Germany, which the Christian Democrats preferred to pretend did not exist. In hopes of easing the economic lot of the people in the East, Brandt aims to tost stop short of full diplomatic recognition but to seek closer travel and communications links and trade opportunities with the East Germans.

Brandt also harbors grander schemes for Europe that would break down the barriers between the East and West blocs. While some critics feel he is overlv optimistic, he wants to accept the Soviet proposal for a European security conference, provided the U.S. would be invited to attend. He would be prepared to renounce Germany's claim to its lost territories that comprise some to wind up the business left over from World War II.

#### Soviet Considerations

The question is would the other side cooperate? The Soviets were rooting for a Brandt victory as the lesser of two evils in the election, and Izvestia called him "more realistic on certain foreign policy questions." Perhaps they might sign a mutually attractive trade deal or grant Lufthansa landing rights in Russia. But so far, it seems unlikely that the collective leadership of Brezhnev and Kosvgin would agree to any far-reaching accommodation with West Germany. One reason the Soviets moved against Czechoslovakia was that Brandt had opened negotiations in Prague that might have led to diplomatic relations and German investments in Czechoslovak industry. Soviet diplomats subsequently warned Brandt's aides that they do not want the Germans poking around in Eastern Europe. Still, Brandt is not likely to give up easily. For years the Soviets have unfairly castigated West Germany as a haven of unrepentant Nazis. It is a charge Brandt and the West Germany that helped bring him to power are both singularly well qualified to refute.

Brand's administration means, in fact, a new era in which the power in West Germany has largely passed to the untainted Germans—those who were too young to be accomplices in Hitler's crimes. When Brandt cries, "Twenty years is enough!", it is not so much a plea for absolution as a reminder that an one penetration is arriving and should not be condemned in advance.

The Germany of this new generation will be somewhat different and perhaps a bit difficult for its old allies. Yet it may well be a Germany that is far may well be a Germany that is far generations were able to make. In one of Helmut Kirst's novels about World War II, a German soldier in Russia expresses the hope that maybe some day there may even be a Germany that is may even be a Germany that is may consider the may be considered that the sum of the sum of

### SWEDEN

Hot Soup from Olof

Sweden last week chose a Social Democrat as leader, right in step with the West Germans. But Sweden's Social Democrats have been in power for 37 years, save for a 100-day lapse in 1936, and their new Prime Minister is 13 years younger, and somewhat livelier, than is Willy Brandt. As Minister of Communications, Olof Palme helped steer the country from left- to righthand traffic in 1967. According to his critics, that was the only time Olof has moved away from the left since he started shaving. Conservatives in his own country call him a renegade from his class. Staid politicians elsewhere in Scandinavia consider him too impulsive. Many Americans resent his bitter criticism of the Viet Nam war. Now all will be hearing a lot more of the outspoken, provocative Palme. Last week, at the age of 42, Palme was named to succeed veteran Prime Minister Tage Erlander, 68, as head of Sweden's ruling Social Democratic Party. Next week King Gustaf VI Adolf will formally name him the nation's new Prime Minister. He will be the youngest head of government in Europe.

Erlander, who has led Sweden for nearly a quarter of a century, is a spendid father image—tall, shambling and folksy. Paline (pronounced Pal-mub), who is Trlander's protégé, is something who is Trlander's protégé, is something variant of the protection of the protection of systems and the protection of the protection of years in a cavaly regiment, and in 1947-48 spent what he recalls as "an alsouturly wonderful year" at Ohio's Kenyon (Oliege, majoring in political science of the protection of the protec

After winning his law degree, Palme

went to work as Erlander's secretary and speechwriter. He also married Lisbeth Beck-Friis, a child psychologist and leading feminist who shares his upperclass background (she renounced her title of baroness). Elected to the Riksdag in 1956, he proved brilliant, energetic and devastating in parliamentary debate. Palme began to soar politically, won Cabinet rank in 1963, became Minister of Communications in 1965, and two years later took the education portfolio. He has long since become Swedish television's favorite Cabinet personality. He even played a role-strictly political-in I Am Curious (Yellow).

That stirred a controversy, but it was nothing compared with the uproar that followed his February 1968 march through Stockholm's streets shoulder to shoulder with the North Vietnamese ambassador to Moscow, during a torchlight parade protesting U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam war. In a speech to the protesters, Palme claimed that democracy in Viet Nam was "represented in a considerably higher degree by the National Liberation Front than by the U.S. and its allied juntas." Swedes in general oppose the war, but the manner of Palme's gesture blew up a storm. Conservative Swedes were furious (red), and the American ambassador was summoned home for "consultations." No successor has yet been named. Later, Palme adopted a low silhouette; realizing that Erlander was contemplating quitting and that the top job was within reach, he cut back on his TV exposure, tidied up

his once sloppy style of dress, even tamed his cowlick.

The Sweden Palme inherits is a booming nation of 7,950,000, whose per capita income (33,040 in 1967) is second only to the U.S. (with \$4,040). Financed by the world's highest taxes, the Swedish welfare system is paying out hand-

somely and the economy is thriving. Palme disclaims any intention of making drastic changes. "I've got no aming the properties of the prop

Over the long run, however, his goals are clear. "Social Democratic policy has been constantly turned toward the left," he said last week. Sweden has just announced a \$40 million loan to North Viet Nam and granted asylum to eleven more antiwar G.I.'s, bringing the total now in Sweden to more than 300. In economic policy, while young Social Democratic radicals are now calling for bank nationalization, Pallonia G. Scial Democratic radicals are now calling for bank nationalization, Pallonia G. Scial Peners of the Sweden Swed

### BRITAIN

Applicants, Not Suppliants

Inside a cavernous recreation center at the seaside resort of Brighton, not far from the seedy boardwalk game booths, members of Britain's battered Labor Party last week unofficially launched their campaign for the country's next elections. No date for the balloting has even been set. Prime Minister Harold Wilson can call an election at any time within the next 18 months, and might do so as early as next spring. Nonetheless, Labor, at what could well be its last annual conference before the voting, was off and running. And despite the party's current lack of popularity, no one in Labor was willing to settle for less than a fight to the end.

In one of his most effective speechse, Wilson spoke of "a British full of life and vigor and achievement" after his five years in office. He promised bet ter times to come and compared the Tories to poor-mouthing "Victorian undertakers welcoming a wet winter and the promise of a full churchyard." Labor delegates, who have sat on their hands after some of Harold's sorrier speeches, gave him a two-minute standar Timers of London acknowledged his speech as "one of the best in recent vears by any party leader."

Deep Migpivings. Due reason for the party's good cheer was the recent news that Britain's balance of payments, for party spot of the payments, for \$11.5 million surplus during the first half of this year. Since the effects of the 1967 devaluation of the pound are sure starting to be felt in export orders, cut starting to be felt in export orders, cut starting to be felt in export orders, extending its boomlet so long as world trade maintain sits current brisk pace. Wilson, however, must still contend with deep national misgivings about his rec-



PALME & HANOI AMBASSADOR IN 1968 TORCHLIGHT PARADE Conservatives were furious (red).

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WILSON AT LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE This time, no cap in hand.

ord and even deeper bitterness among trade unions, whose leaders showed up at the conference as determined as ever to fight his wage restrictions. But for the moment, at least, the party at large was content to hear his heartening news and his stirring speech.

Thus buoyed, Wilson went on to speak confidently on what is likely to become a hotly contested issue of the campaign —British entry into Europe's six-nation Common Market. "If they, the Six, are ready," he said. "We no longer face the challenge of Europe cap in hand."

Cocky Attitude. Wilson's truculent "you-need-us-more-than-we-need-you" approach to the Market reflected growing public opposition to entry. A publicopinion poll published recently by the Daily Express showed that over half (54%) the voting-age population opposed Market membership and that only 30% was for it. Wilson's cocky attitude was clearly designed to inform the voters-and the Six-that he will not kowtow for a Common Market berth. Moreover, Conservative Leader Ted Heath, long a supporter of membership, responded to the same national feeling by declaring: "It must be absolutely clear that the problems can be resolved before we have a negotiation."

Britain's new anti-Market mood was disappointing to EEC members. In 1961 and 1967, London submitted earnest, almost desperate applications for membership, only to see them unceremiously vetoed by Charles de Gallecollection of the properties of the Common Market ministers quickly began studying pathetic to British entry, the Common Market ministers quickly began studying the possibility of reopening negotiations with Britain and three other applicants (freland, Norway and Demark).

Twin Evils. Britain's popular opposition stems overwhelmingly from a fear of rising prices. Because of substantial agricultural subsidies, food prices in the Market countries are higher than Britain's. A pound of butter costing 40¢ in Britain sells for \$1 in Common Market nations, and beef prices are 25% higher in the six member nations.

The cost-of-living argument, however, overlooks a more important index-the standard of living, which in Britain is sagging relative to that of the fastergrowing Common Market countries. Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, who addressed Labor journalists covering the Brighton conference, strongly emphasized that point. Britain, he said, is still anxious to enjoy Market membership so as to stimulate export trade, gain access to a guaranteed market and improve technological cooperation. At the same time, he stressed, "we are resolute applicants, we are in no sense suppliants.

Novertheless, Labor delegates were in no mood to send Wishon into negotiations with a completely free hand. After approving a weak though generally pro-Market resolution, they passed a second measure demanding safeguards account measure demanding safeguards curriy and independence in economic planning—as well as public disclosure of negotiation results. Wishon is in no way bound to abide by the resolution, but it clearly placed a political speed to work the property of the

### SOVIET UNION Postscript to Babi Yar

Everything screams in silence.
—Evgeny Evtushenko, Babi Yar

In 36 bloody hours at Babi Yar, a deep ravine outside Kiev, Hitler's special commandos 28 years ago last week coldly machine gunned 34,000 fews. The massacre has become a symbol not only of Nazi persecution but also of the status of the Soviet Union's 3,000,000 Jews, who are discriminated against in most areas of Soviet life. Soviet his

tories all but ignore the tragedy. Only a simple stone marks the grass-covered as a simple stone marks the grass-covered site, and it says simply that "victims of a facsism" lie below. The Jewish identity to of the victims was not even mentioned at the anniversary oceromoines that the state grudgingly began conducting last year, the better to control the groups of Jewish mourners who had been gathering annually at Babi Yar.

ering annually at Babi Yar. Very Much Alive. At last year's carefully sanitized rites, the official speaker took the occasion to rail against Israel. Among those upset by the performance was a 33-year-old radio engineer named Boris Kochubiyevsky. He protested: "Here lies a part of the Jewish people." When a bystander said, "Too bad they didn't get the rest," Kochubiyevsky (whose parents died with the other Kiev Jews in 1941) began arguing with him. At one point, he complained that because he was a Jew "no one in this country considers me a fellow Russian.' Kochubiyevsky should have limited himself to a silent scream. For his comments he was denounced, arrested, and tried last May for spreading "Zionist propaganda." A partial transcript of his trial, recently smuggled to the West, shows that anti-Semitism is very much alive in the Soviet Union

Kochubiyevsky had felt its sting before. Early in 1968, he was hounded out of his job at a Kiev radio factory because he had dared to defend Israel during a political lecture. When he applied or an exit visa to Israel, his non-lewish wife was expelled from the Young Communist League for "Zionism" and Communist League for "Zionism" and you was to get his emigration papers, he was a rested for "slanderous fabrications against the Soviet state."

Court Exchange. The trial was someing out of Kafka. The prosecutor ridiculed him for having said that "Jews are oppressed here," yet there was ample evidence of that in the province court at Kiev, where Ukrainian anti-



All but ignored.

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Sugar Information

Semitism runs deep. When Kochubivessky's brother tried to get in, a guard barred him, shouting "You're no brother, you're a kike, a kike, a kike, a kike, a kike, hike, a kike, a kike, a kike, a kike, in kike, a kike, a kike, a kike, a kike, in a kike, a kike, a kike, a kike! The judge made no effort to discourage hooting and mocking among the spectators, many of them KGB men and local party hacks. He chided Kochubiyevsky's wife, who was nine months pregnant, for having married a Jew, and advised

her to "find yourself another husband."
Nothing better illustrates the tenor of
the trial than the following exchange, in
which the prosecutor "proved" that antiSemitism "cannot exist in our country":
Prosecutor: Do you know against

whom we fought?

Kochubiyevsky: The Nazis. Prosecutor: And for what were we fighting? For Freedom?

Kochubiyevsky: Yes. Prosecutor: Did we win?

Kochubiyevsky: Yes.

Prosecutor: So you see, it means we do have freedom.

Kochubiyevsky, in his final, futile

Kochubiyevsky, in his final, futile statement, was repeatedly interrupted by the judge's orders to "desist from engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda." Concluded the engineer: "I am convinced that this trial will explain much." Kochubiyevsky's sentence: three years at hard labor.

#### CHINA

### Peking Puzzles

There he was, apparently hale, saying nothing but acknowledging with a wave the cheers of the 500,000 celebrators jammed into Peking's Tienanmen Square for Communist China's 20th anniversary. To the solemn strains of The East Is Red, Chairman Mao Tsetung made his first public appearance in 41 months, confounding reports from Moscow that he had suffered a serious stroke. Japanese newsmen and British diplomats emphasized that, at 75, he seemed in excellent health. For the time being, that put to rest doubts about whether Mao was still around-except among Moscow sources, who insist that he has at least two doubles.

Aside from Mao's materialization at Tienanmen (the Gate of Heavenly Peace), what most intrigued China experts was the evidence, coming from both Peking and Moscow, that a fresh effort to heal the Sino-Soviet rift might be under way. Not once during his 15minute keynote speech did Defense Minister Lin Piao, Mao's heir apparent, specifically denounce the Soviets by name. Instead of damning the "Soviet revisionist renegade clique," he restricted himself to the euphemism "social-imperialism." To be sure, he stressed China's military might, but the emphasis was defensive. "On the vast land of China, wherever you go," he warned possible invaders, "there will be your burial ground." Lin made no mention of the fact that China had set off its first underground nuclear explosion and tested a hydrogen bomb in the atmosphere just before the anniversary.



MAO AT GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE Nothing certain.

For their part, the Russians put out even more conspicuous signals. Moscow's message congratulating the Chinese on the Oct. 1 anniversary of Mao's takeover, longer and more positive than last year's, stressed the need to negotiate differences. Sino-Soviet trade talks were under way in Moscow-though analysts were quick to point out that these talks have been held annually, even in the worst periods of Sino-Soviet tension. There were other signs as well. Two hundred thousand copies of a stinging anti-Mao broadside were withdrawn a day after they went on sale in Moscow; a check of bookstores in the capital indicated that all other anti-China books had also been quietly removed. A Yugoslav press report, originating in Moscow, said that both Soviet and Chinese troops were withdrawing from forward positions along their common Far

If there was uncertainty about Sino-Soviet problems, there was an equal amount of speculation over what seemed to be a shift in Mao's relationship to China's army. Peking usually describes the army as having been "founded and led personally" by Mao and "directly commanded by Vice Chairman Lin." Now, however, the phrase has been changed to state that the army is "commanded directly by Chairman Mao" and Lin. To outsiders, that seemed an absurdly small clue, but changes of this sort are not made absentmindedly in Peking; analysts believe that Mao is attempting to underscore the party's control of the army. One reason may be to counter speculation in the West that the army has been running everything in China as a result of the chaos caused by Mao's cultural revolution.

A further puzzle was the absence from the celebration of those Polithuro members who are headquartered outside Peking. Did continuing unrest in the provinces keep them close to home? Nobody was sure—and that is perhaps the most striking thing about Communist China as it begins its third decade. Though it is the world's most populous nation, it has drawn so tight a curtain around itself that virtually nothing of its present policies, personnel and problems is known for certain.

### End to the Void

For more than two years, Anthony Grey's world was a 12-ft-sq, white-washed room in Peking. He lived in a void: no one spoke to him and, except for three brief calls by British dip-him. Ourside the open door of his room stood an armed guard, and others ringed the walled compound of the house. Last week, after 26 months of mind-numbing confinement, the Chines government suddenly released Grey, a 30-ft was the control of the

Grey was originally confined without charges in July 1967. It was Peking's retribution for the arrest and later imprisonment of eight Communist Chinese newsmen by the Hong Kong government following Maoist riots in the British colony. After the eight were freed, Peking announced that Grey would not be freed until 13 more Communist newspaper and news-agency employees were released from jail in the crown colony. The Hong Kong government refused to bow to such blackmail. The men served most of their sentences, and last week, the 13th was finally released. Soon afterward. Grey was taken to the British legation in Peking for a few days of rest before returning to Britain.

### FOREIGN AID

At Crisis Point The storms that forever rage over foreign aid have all but obscured the fact that it is a relatively recent and radical experiment in international cooperation. Only for a couple of decades have the world's richer nations observed a general commitment to help the more than 100 less developed countries that embrace two-thirds of mankind. The results have been mixed, but there have been enough signs of success to merit strong support for the experiment. Yet after a year-long study sponsored by the World Bank, an eight-member commission headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson warned in Washington last week that for-

In both the have and have-not camps, says the Pearson report, the aid climate is "heavy with disillusion and distrust," partly because "instant development" has proved illusory, partly because economic improvement has not always been "an antidote to violence," partly because the wealthier countries are turn-cause the wealthier countries are turn-

eign aid is at "a point of crisis,

ing to problems of their own.

A Poor Seventh. The crisis is reflected in the figures. Economic assistance rose steadily through the 1950s, but after 1967, when it reached a peak of \$7 billion, it began receding. Last

year the total dipped to \$6.9 billion —while worldwide arms spending neared \$150 billion. Japan, Australia and Switzerland have increased their contribution; Germany, Canada, The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries plan to do so soon, But there Britain—and the U.S. which still dispenses almost as much aid as all the other countries combined.

Congress has slashed foreign aid to the lowest level in two deades. With only \$3.3 billion, or .38% of its gross national product devoted to aid, the U.S. ranks a poor seventh in effort, though it remains far in front in total flow of aid (see chart). Because businessmen are proving more venturesome than bureaucrats, the worldwide decline in aid has been more than offset by frising private investment. The trouble is that private capital goes mainly to countries

"aids the U.S.A.," suggesting the use of assistance as a political tool.

Such an approach does not always apout first least not to the degree of the postwar Marshall Plan in Europe. "Aid for development," says the Pearson report, "does not usually buy deal? On the simplest level, the report stated," it is only right for those who have not." Then again, the report notes, "we live in a village world," where concern with a village world," where concern with coming, "a political and social imperative." Strongest of all is the pragmatic argument that aid-fostered development will help increase world trade, to the ben-

the district of the component of the com



rich in oil and minerals, where help is not urgently needed.

Though government aid accounts for only 2% of the underdeveloped world's income, its influence is often decisive. Aid finances perhaps 10% of the total investment in third-world countries; in countries such as Pakistan, Jordan, Korea, India and Tunisia, it provides as much as half.

Ransom Netes, So far, the money has been moving on what the Pearson report calls a somewhat sloppy "trial and error" basis. The have-nots have made an art of what aid experts call the "ransom note" approach (binting that they will warm up to Moscow, say, if the U.S. starts getting stingy). The haves play "puppetry" with the strings they at tach to aid deals (the U.S., for example requires aid recipients to oppose the seating of Red China in the U.N.).

The Pearson recommendations have long been awaited, especially by the Nixon Administration. In his campaign, Nixon seemed to hint at a further cuback, stressing that "we are spread far too thin in too many countries." He has also said that he likes aid that

neled through multilateral agencies like the World Bank; only 10% flows through such bodies at present. Another Pearson recommendation is that countries increase their aid to seven-tenths of one percent of their gross national product in five years. In the U.S., that would mean annual foreign aid outlay of \$8 billion by 1975. Even if Nixon seconded that motion, which is virtually unthinkable, there is no chance that Congress would go along.

Plainly, it would be a mistake to let the momentum of aid slip further. Over the past few years, 41 poor countries have managed to achieve yearly growth rates of 2% or better in per-capita income, despite sharp population increases. Pearson's goal is a growth rate of 6% throughout the next decade, and "selfsustaining" expansion for most of the underdeveloped countries by the year 2000. If the report's proposed aid increases are adopted, and if population growth can be held down-two enormous ifs -they might make it. If not, Pearson's "village world" may be an even more dangerous place in which to live than it is today.

### IME ESSAY

N first visiting Southeast Asia, a reporter, or any other designated VIP, usually undergoes a ritual of purification. Arriving at the Hawaii headquarters of the Commander in Chief Pacific Forces, he is led to a closely guarded building. Within its cavernous, arctic-cool auditorium, he is guided to a leather swivel chair bearing a plaque with his name. On a table is a plump leather notebook full of blank paper awaiting his use. Standing in front of him, as august as an altar, is a divided projection screen. Above the screen, a row of clocks record the time in distant parts of the world. Then bemedaled officers march briskly front and center to a lectern, there to deliver, like preachers, resonant, reassuring explications of the U.S. military role in Asia. The visitor, like a churchgoer, may be awed. But he is more likely to be bored, and to feel that he has not learned much

But then that may be the unadmitted purpose of the CINCPAC briefing, Like all similar productions sponsored by the military, it is more a reaffirmation of faith than a revelation of fact. Such is the notoriety of the presentation that some reportorial wits rate briefings on a scale: CINCPAC equals zero. Not that many other briefings rank much higher; correspondents in Viet Nam, for example, long ago dubbed their daily briefings in Saigon the "5 O'Clock (now 4:30) Follies." To the press, military briefings have become more show than substance-a bewildering mélange of abbreviations and acronyms, of charts, maps, slides and the ubiquitous collapsible pointer that briefers wave in military rhythm. All that is missing from this mixed-media presentation is a rock background, and maybe the reason is that no one has thought of it yet.

### To Make a Case

The theoretical purpose of a briefing is to convey necessary information in as concise and clear a manner as possible. As the sheer volume of information has multiplied, it has become essential to provide those who need to know with comprehensible summaries. Not just the military, but much of the Federal Government and many big corporations use the briefing as a convenient tool to make a case or sell a product. Nowhere, though, has it become more a way of life than in the U.S. armed forces; the military has subjected the briefing form to all the spit and polish of a full-dress parade. Simplification, indeed oversimplification, has been ritualized, and the military sometimes gives the impression of enjoying the ritual more than its purpose, which is to communicate.

The Viet Nam war, in particular, has exposed the weaknesses of the brief-

### BRIEFINGS: A RITUAL OF NONCOMMUNICATION

ing ritual. The requirement of brevity means that briefers must rely heavily on hard facts and statistics, even when dealing with subjects that defy quantification. Time and again, military briefers in Viet Nam have "proved" that the war was being won with the help of impressive "body counts" of enemy dead that were impossible to verify, let alone dispute. With the aid of computers, U.S. officials were equally sanguine about stating to the decimal point how many villages were "secure" Viet Nam. Such was the faith in the quantity of weaponry unloaded on the Communists that military briefers would confidently announce in detail the damage that had been done, when in fact they had no way of knowing for sure. Passed on to higher headquarters, summaries of misleading summaries contributed to the deepening U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam. As described in the current issue of the Atlantic by former Under Secretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes, Dean Acheson told Lyndon Johnson to his face that he had been consistently misinformed by "canned briefings" from the Joint Chiefs of Staff

#### No Departure

A saving in Viet Nam is that there are only two ways to make general; by fighting or by briefing. It is no secret that General Earle Wheeler owed his elevation to Army Chief of Staff partly to the fact that he impressed President Kennedy with his skill as a briefer, Without exception, an officer is briefed before he goes on a mission and debriefed after it. Base commanders take great pride in showing off their briefing rooms and their graphics departments. which turn out an unending stream of impressive audio-visual aids. "When we briefed General Westmoreland," recalls one officer in Viet Nam, "we knew that we must fill at least 30 minutes even if the information did not require it. So we made our charts more complicated, our graphs more detailed. It all took up time." But it has impressed the South Vietnamese, who have become as adept as their allies at briefing. On this front, at least, the U.S. can be confident of withdrawing without a South Vietnamese collapse.

As in any ritual, the military briefer is not supposed to depart from traditional practice. His performance is frequently inspected as closely as his uniform for flaws. He must speak in a neutral, colorless voice that nonetheless conveys enthusiasm. He must not stumbe in his grammar or pronunciation, the properties of the properties of the prodevote many idle hours to perfecting their delivery. A briefing may begin with a comment intended to joil the audience into paying attention, or at least staying awake. It might, for example, start with the statement: "We have won the war in Viet Nam." Or, depending on the audience and the need for additions to the military budget: "We are losing the war in Viet Nam." If the briefer is in the Air Force, he makes three points—no more, no less. If he has only two, then he must contrive a third.

While giving his briefing, the speaker is often scrutinized by a superior officer, who will dress him down if he does not finish on time, loses eve contact with his audience, or uses slang. Strong men tapped to be briefers for top brass have been known to tremble or vomit before performing, as if they were going into combat. Had he lived to see them, Philosopher William James might have found a new moral equivalent of war in briefings. The same kind of detailed planning goes into them, the same energy; and casualties could be reckoned in terms of those briefed to death.

Military briefings are meant to be not only as dramatic as possible but redolent with knowing jargon. One of the more ingenious examples of the craft takes place on a windswept crag overlooking the Demilitarized Zone in Korea. For the benefit of important visitors, a demonstration of enemy tactics is staged by G.I.s. Playing the part of North Koreans, they slip up to some barbed wire surrounded by mock-up mines. One G.I. snips the wire with a captured enemy wire cutter, thus demonstrating how North Koreans make sneak attacks on U.S. and South Korean patrols. During the show, the briefing officer may say something like "Toc says a Katusa came to OP Mazie with a signal from Cincunc at Uncmac." Translation: "Tactical Operations Center says a Korean attached to the U.S. Army came to Observation Post Mazie with a message from the Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command at United Nations Command Military Assistance Commission.'

### How to Say It

Experience has shown that the best, meaning the most informative, briefings are delivered not by trained professionals in the art but by men who simply a group of visiting U.S. businessme mass growing visibly realtes in the course of a lavish briefing. Sensing their discontinuity of the professional conditions of the professional conditions of the professional continuity of the professional communication is better that the professional communication is better the professional communication is better that the professional

It is probably too much to expect that the military could return to the casual, off-the-cuff talk as a substitute for the prepared briefing. To begin with, the Army would no doubt have as much trouble disposing of all its audio-visual agadest as it has dumping its excess nerve gas. More of them, unfortunately, are yet to come. The services whe begun purchasing a new computer that berts automatically without the aid of human voice of hand. At the push of a and the show goes on. When it ends, the computer closes the curtains and turns on the lights in the auditorium.

That kind of McLuhanesque gadget might seem to be the ultimate in efficiency, but its acceptance by the military epitomizes the failure of briefings.



"NOW ALL TURN TO PAGE 2, WHERE DICK AND JANE DISCOVER . . . "

Even without benefit of computer, the armed-services style of communication has become a ritual recitation of memorized details, a reduction of experience to a set of quantifiable data. The supposedly hard fact has been glorified; the untidy, elusive concept has been smudged into a supposedly measurable statistic.

As perfected by the armed forces. the briefing creates a perfect, Platonic world-insular and self-contained, impervious to facts or thoughts that might spoil the symmetry. Every prospective doubt is silenced with a persuasive number-and Americans are peculiarly prone to believe that figures, from batting averages to traffic fatalities, never lie. Yet when facts are thrust together in an arbitrary manner, they can be more misleading than an outright lie. Military briefers are, of course, instructed not to lie, and for the most part, they do not; the problem is that the gritty reality of truth too often escapes the ritual of presentation.

### PEOPLE

While posing for photographers in Chiswick. England, the happy couple gazed fondly down on their newborn son Carlo. But the mother, Actress Vanessa Redgrave, made it clear that there was one thing the future did not include: her marriage to the boy's father, Italian Actor Franco Nero. The freespirited star of The Loves of Isadora had said, when she announced her pregnancy in April, that she had no plans to marry Nero ("I don't think marriage would make me a very nice person to live with"). Carlo's birth has made Vanessa no less adamant. "I doubt very much if we will get married," she said last week.

They threw stones at Nixon and spat at Rockefeller, but the huge crowds that turned out for the touring Apollo 11 astronauts in Latin America last week demonstrated unrestrained adoration In Mexico City, Bogotá, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, women and children crowded into the streets simply to touch Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin and Mike Collins, or to tear off pieces of their clothing as souvenirs. "You are supermen," said an Argentine admirer in broken English as he shook Armstrong's outstretched hand. "No." answered Armstrong in Spanish, "we are common men.

In his years as a TV star, he kept the censors working overtime, cutting out his gamy wisecracks. Now just past his 74th birthday, Groucho Marx is still demonstrating an undiminished capacity for the leering remark. "Would you pull your skirt down?" he asked a coed at a college film seminar in Los Angeles. "It's very distracting, even at my age." Then Groucho called the students' attention to a scene in his 1935 movie A Night At the Opera. As con man Otis B. Driftwood, he was carrying Margaret Dumont's luggage up a gangplank. "Have you got everything, Otis?" she asked. "I haven't had any complaints yet," he boasted. "That line," said Groucho, with obvious pride, "was cut out of the movie in virtually every state in the Union.

White Hunter Patrick Heminguoy of Kenya, visiting the Soviet Union for the Ninth International Congress of Game Management, was attonished to find that his name made him the center of attention. These thought my fasaid, as reporters and their interpreters queed up. "If like to know whether it was because of his talent as a writter or his human qualities." Young Hemingway, whose motto is "os shoot, to write, and to tell the truth," was taken whether the state of the control of the work of the control of the control of the board at a big cik. But the Russians found Patricks literary tastes right on



Natural birth.

target. Though he reads and enjoys his father's works (his favorites: Green Hills of Africa and The Snows of Kilimanjaro), he confessed that his favorite writer is Turgenev.

As photographers focused their cameras on the monstrous bulge above his boxing trunks, ex-Heavyweight Champion Ingemar Johonsson shook his head ruefully and admitted that "118 kilos [259.6 lbs., on a 6-ft. frame] is not precisely fighting weight." Still, reporters had vivid memories of the "toonder and lightning" right hand that flattened



Unnatural growth.

Floyd Patterson in 1959, and they suppressed their laughter when Ingo, 37, announced that he may try a comeback. Addicted to the good life even in his prime, and a problem drinker in the years since, he claims that he has now given up smorgasbord and women—he was recently divorced from his wife —and is back in rigorous training. "Three training bouts to shake off the rust," said Ingo, "and I wouldn't be afraid to meet the world's champion."

"It's been a rather shaking night," the soprano quipped after singing the third act of La Bohème under somewhat unusual circumstances. First there was that rumbling noise backstage at the San Francisco Opera House. "I looked around, thinking maybe they had turned on the wind machine," Dorothy Kirsten recalled. "I was sort of dizzy and the floor was shaking. I was so engrossed, I didn't know what was happening." What was happening was a strong earthquake-5.6 on the Richter scale-the bay area's biggest jolt in twelve years. A few of the less courageous and persevering opera devotees headed for the exits, but most stayed on to hear the diva finish with the phrase addio senza rancore (goodbye without regret). "We never missed a note," said Dorothy proudly, "but I kept thinking about those last words in the aria."

Beset as they are by snarled traffic and chaotic driving conditions, the citizens of Rome could scarcely believe the words uttered at Leonardo da Vinci Airport by the visiting dignitary. "The U.S. hopes to be able to benefit," said U.S. Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe, "from Italy's well-known achievements in the field of transportation, and to cooperate in attacking the problems of rapid urban transportation." In Italy to call on the Pope and to visit his parents' birthplace at Pescara, Volpe had an embarrassing admission to make when he turned up half an hour late for a subsequent briefing session with reporters. He had been caught in a Roman traffic jam.

Testifying before a House Post Office subcommittee in Washington, the silver-maned Senator urged a crackdown on the "smut peddlers" who send pornography through the mails to children. Despite "wishy-washy" court definitions of obscenity, said Barry Goldwater, "As a father and a grandfather, I know, by golly, what is obscene and what isn't. That same evening the Senator effectively dispelled any notions that he might be a prude. At a National Aviation Club reception in his honor, Pilot Goldwater fondly recalled his recent 2,100m.p.h. flight at the controls of Lockheed's superjet, the SR-71. "I like air-planes and aviation," he said. "They're like sex, and I'll be after them as long as I can.



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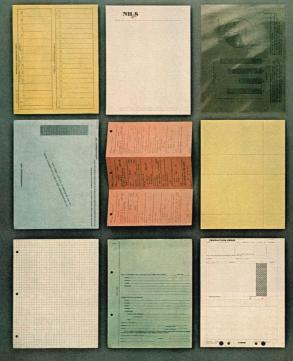
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### **FDUCATION**

### STUDENTS

### Rekindling the Cause

Though calm prevailed on most of the nation's campuses last week, stu-dent activists were hard at work. The work was directed toward making a success of "Moratorium Day," a massive nationwide antiwar protest scheduled for Oct. 15 (see THE NATION). The day is supposed to be marked by class boycotts, mass rallies, teach-ins, the distribution of leaflets and doorbell ringing to mobilize both town and gown sentiment for ending the Viet Nam war. A two-day demonstration is scheduled to follow on Nov. 14-15, with one day of protest added each successive month -an ambitious effort to build up a nationwide strike.

The movement is directed from the crammed Washington offices of the Viet Nam Moratorium Committee, which was organized over the summer by Sam Brown, 26, a former McCarthy campaign aide. Mainly a "goading agency," Brown's committee has left specific tactics to each of the 700 or so local campus chapters that have joined the movement so far. Many campus administrators were still undecided last week about how best to cope with the call for a moratorium.

Among the responses:

▶ The University of North Carolina will regard any disruption of classes on Oct. 15 as a violation of school policy, Faculty members will be allowed to participate in the antiwar protest activities on their own time "so long as participation does not conflict with the performance of validly assigned duties. ▶ Rutgers' President Mason W. Gross.



ORGANIZING MORATORIUM IN CAMBRIDGE Town and gown against the Viet Nam war.

who also heads the American Council on Education, promised to suspend all classes, and will conduct a discussion with students on the Viet Nam war.

▶ The University of Pennsylvania will be open on Moratorium Day, but teachers are free to call off their classes and students may decide whether to attend "as their consciences dictate.

► Columbia University's governing senate authorized students and faculty to join in the Oct. 15 activities "without penalty or prejudice," and issued a call for the immediate withdrawal of all

U.S. troops from Viet Nam. ▶ Berkeley took no official stance for

or against. Moratorium sympathizers mobilized a wide segment of the political spectrum in their community, from McCarthyites to various radical groups. The Women for Peace will toll church bells all day long to commemorate the war dead: others are planning vigils at draft boards and induction centers. Speakers invited to address a mass rally include Coretta King, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Wayne Morse. The Berkeley City Council voted 5 to 4 to support the goals of the moratorium but decided against closing down city hall.

▶ San Francisco State's embattled President S. I. Hayakawa pondered an answer to a call by his teachers' union to suspend classes Oct, 15 "so that the entire college community can actively participate in the antiwar action planned

for that day."

▶ Cornell's new president, Dale R. Corson, picked chiefly for his popularity with students and faculty, left it up to individual professors whether to hold classes. The boycott proposal has already been endorsed by the departments of psychology, chemistry and Romance studies, and moratorium organizers lined up a leading war critic, Republican Senator Charles Goodell of New York, as the speaker at a peace rally.

▶ The University of Kansas decided to approve any "peaceful protest," but the divided organizers could not agree on how to make use of their mandate. Sidewalks in the prairie town of Lawrence were chalked with "Oct. 15" and "Stop

Oct. 15" signs.

▶ Amherst College, whose official policy allows great freedom to express antiwar sentiments, produced a broadly based coalition planning a door-to-door canvass and rally in downtown Amherst. Several local clergymen promised to speak about the forthcoming event from the pulpit, and some merchants will demonstrate by shutting down their stores one hour early.

Moratorium Day is shaping up as a test of strength for antiwar feeling in the academic community. If the boycott succeeds, it may reveal whether the colleges can carry with them important segments of the population in demanding a speedy conclusion to the Viet Nam war.

### Spirit of '73

It has become a truism that each new class of college freshmen is more radical, more tuned in, turned on and dropped out than the last. How about the class of 1973? Last week TIME correspondents sought the answer in random interviews with 130 freshmen on 14 representative campuses.\* If their views accurately reflect the general freshman mood this fall, the truism holds firm for '73.

One out of every three freshmen said that he believes the U.S. needs some sort of revolution, and one out of five described himself as either a radical or a revolutionary. More than half believe that U.S. foreign policy is imperialistic. Two out of three think that business is too concerned with profit, three out of four that U.S. society is racist, four out of five that politics is dominated by string-pulling special-interest groups. A substantial minority believe that U.S. society is more repressive today than it was two years ago, and a majority think that a period of greater repression lies ahead.

Pessimistic About Peace. On the No. 1 campus issue, Viet Nam, more than half rejected even the possibility that the U.S. role in the war could be moral. Almost half advocated the immediate unilateral withdrawal of American forces. As a group, the freshmen were extremely pessimistic about the chances of an early peace: 94% said

\* University of Alabama, University of California (Berkeley), California Institute of Technology, Duke University, Harvard, University of Kansas, Miami-Dade Junior College, University of Michigan, Morehouse College, University of Notre Dame, Oberlin College, Smith College, University of Texas (Austin) and Wayne State University.



FRESHMEN REGISTERING AT MIAMI-DADE No cause for euphoria.

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that they expect the war to continue for another year or more. On the related issue of the draft, three-quarters of the students said that the present system of conscription is unfair; a majority would like to see the draft abolished in favor of a volunteer army.

and the state of t

In their life styles, many of the freshmen emulate hippie attitudes. More than a fifth have tried pot, and more than half believe that it should be legal. A third said that they would like to try living in a commune. Both premarial sex and legalized abortion were approved by large majorities, including most of the freshmen interviewed at Roman

Catholic Notre Dame.

Concentration of Critics, Still, the preferred life style is by no means all drugs and sex. Almost all of the freshmen still believe in the institution of marriage, and a majority continue to view originon or mimportant part of their crigon or major the part of their majority or the properties of th

Even though the students have barely unpacked, their sentiments often reflected differences in mood from one campus to another. The freshmen at Southern schools—Alabama, Texas and Duke, for example—tended to support the Viet Nam war, while the critics were concentrated at Berkeley, Harvard, Michigan, Wayne State and Oberlin. A revolution was deemed necessary by a majority at Berkeley and at predomtree such extreme radicals to be found at Alabama, Miami-Dade Junior Collego or—surprisingly—Harvard.

Who are the freshmen's heroes? More than half say they have none. Among the political leaders of the '60s, they most admire John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Eugene McCarthy. Among leaders now active, they approve of McCarthy, Senator Edmund Muskie, Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, Eldridge Cleaver and-of all people-Richard Nixon. Apparently convinced that he is sincerely trying to end the war and reform the draft, two out of three freshmen expressed respect for the President. But given the capacity of small student minorities to disrupt campuses and bedevil presidents, that vote of confidence in Nixon is unlikely to cause euphoria in the White House.



















Round makes





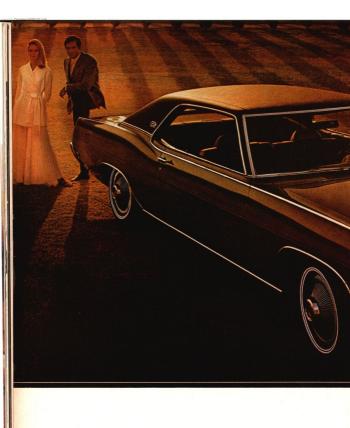
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### THE LAW

### THE SUPREME COURT Beginning of the Burger Era

When the Supreme Court convenes this week, the absence of Earl Warren will mark a new era-but the presence of Warren Burger will not make a dramatic difference. For one thing, Chief Justice Burger will lack the support of his fellow Nixon nominee, Clement Havnsworth of South Carolina, whose approval is by no means certain (see THE NATION). For another, Burger shows no sign of wanting to lead the court in a headlong retreat from the past 16 years, "We are unlikely to see a sudden return to some strange, anti-defendant, anti-Negro, anti-reapportionment court," says Professor Arthur Sutherland of Harvard Law School. "Time is running the other way,

At least in its first term, the Burger court will be unable to avoid some of the most explosive issues facing the country. Already before the court are

cases that concern

· RACIAL EQUALITY. The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund lawyers have asked the court for a prompt ruling on the recent delay in desegregating Mississippi's schools. If the court agrees to hear the case, the result could be an early clash with the Nixon Administration, which took the unprecedented step of requesting the halt. Justice Hugo Black, who supervises the Deep South Fifth Circuit for the high court, has asked the Government to reply to the fund's petition by Oct, 8. Last week Assistant Attornev General Jerris Leonard asserted that a decision to compel desegregation throughout the South this year would be unenforceable. To such critics as the Justice Department's own civil rights lawyers, this seems a strange stance for an Administration dedicated to law enforcement.

· CRIMINAL JUSTICE. One of the oldest issues on the docket is capital punishment. Paradoxically, the crime-conscious U.S. has not executed a single person in more than two years. Whether that moratorium continues may depend largely on the fate of a Negro named William Maxwell, who has been condemned to death in Arkansas for raping a white woman. Among other things, Maxwell argues that his 14th Amendment right to due process was violated because there were no statutory standards to govern the jury's decision on whether he should be executed or imprisoned. Although the Justices are quite unlikely to abolish capital punishment, they could rule in favor of Maxwell on the jury issue, which might persuade the states to set limits on how and when the penalty can be imposed.

· RIGHT OF DISSENT. The judges will hear four cases that test whether a man threatened with prosecution under a state law for exercising his right of free speech may ask a federal court to strike down that law. In one case, a group of antiwar demonstrators in Texas had persuaded a federal court that it did indeed have the power to void a state law that banned "loud and vociferous language calculated to disturb." · RIGHTS OF THE POOR. The most important welfare suit now on the agenda argues that California may not revoke a person's benefits without first granting him a hearing before an impartial referee. California regulations, like those of many other states, entitle a person to such a hearing only after he is notified that his payments will be terminated. Thus, a person's benefits often cease before he has a chance to challenge the decision by presenting evidence to someone in authority besides his caseworker. · CHURCH AND STATE. A

New York City case attacks as unconstitutional the property-tax exemption enjoyed by religious organizations. The petitioner argues that this tax break violates the rule of separation of church

and state

With the composition of the court changing, who will become the dominant personality? Several law professors discount Burger in favor of Black, 83, who shaped much of the court's doctrine during the Warren era. "He is the only man whose philosophy will appeal to a majority of old and new members," says the University of Chicago's Philip Kurland. Others believe that Justice Brennan will lead the court in certain areas, such as free speech. Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz predicts great influence in some cases for Justice John Marshall Har-

lan, the Warren court's most frequent dissenter against the use of judicial solutions for social problems. The Burger court, more often than not, may find itself espousing Harlan's judicial philosophy, which Dershowitz says is "You don't reverse decisions no matter how wrong you think they are."

**LAWYERS** Helping to Avoid the Draft

As trained protectors of people in trouble, lawyers often specialize in certain kinds of clients, ranging from in-

jured motorists to businessmen fending off regulatory agencies. Now the law has a new specialist: the lawver whose role is to prevent young men from being drafted unfairly. Most of the draft lawyers are young men in big cities who oppose the Viet Nam war and work for modest fees-though some charge as much as \$3,000 for a case

that goes to court. All disclaim any intention of counseling their clients to evade the draft, a federal crime that carries a five-year sentence. As in tax cases, the legal word is "avoidance," euphemistic as it sounds.

Draft lawyers are quick to defend their motives. Many feel that peacetime conscription is unjust, unnecessary and un-American. They are convinced that draft boards are often callous, bureaucratic discriminatory-and usually ignorant of the law. Under the circumstances, they argue, a young man is perfectly justified in hiring a lawyer to protect his rights.

Student Deferment, Detroit's James Lafferty, 31, claims that any good lawyer can block a client's induction for at least two years. His firm of Lafferty, Reosti, Jabara, Papakhian, James & Stickgold has already handled 700 draft



DRAFT BOARD IN GARDENA, CALIF. Tremendous inequity in the system.

cases, although it is less than a year old, Milwaukee Draft Lawyer Harry Peck, 34, says: "A person who follows my advice and works hard on developing his case is probably going to stay out of the Army," Los Angeles Attorney William Smith, 36, who is an ex-Air Force captain, claims that if a boy and his parents can afford \$250 a year, "I can give them 99.9% assurance that he won't be drafted-and I won't do anything illegal." He adds: "That is the tremendous inequity of the system."

How do they do it? When a youth first comes to them, draft lawyers thoroughly question him to determine whether he has even the remotest right to a deferment. Even college students are sometimes not aware of all the possibilities. Lafferty once interviewed a young man who faced induction after losing his student deferment and wanted to flee to Canada. "We talked for a while," says Lafferty, "then I found out



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OTHE MAGNAVOX COMPANY, 1969

that the kid had a child and a blind wife waiting for him outside the office." The client received an automatic deferment to support his wife. Occupational deferments are available to those who join apprenticeship programs for certain skilled trades (glass cutting, for example) and to farmers who can prove that they cannot be replaced in their work.

One of the most questionable features of the Selective Service rules is that they do not permit a man to have a lawyer when he comes before either his draft board or an appeals board. As a result, most lawyers advise their clients to bring a witness to take notes on everything that is said (draft boards do not always keep adequate written records of such appearances). Those claiming conscientious-objector status are urged to question board members aggressively, in the hope that they will reveal for the record a lack of understanding of U.S. v. Seeger. In that decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a man may be classified a C.O. if his antiwar views come from convictions that are "sincere and meaningful" and "occupy a place in the life of its possessor parallel to that filled by the orthodox belief in God.'

Sad Proof. When all else fails, most young men threatened with induction have only two ways of bringing their case before the courts. They can go through with induction and then ask a court to order their release on a writ of habeas corpus. They can also refuse induction and be tried for draft evasion -risking a five year sentence. Despite the risk, the number of federal criminal prosecutions brought under the Selective Service law has risen steadily from a mere 287 in fiscal 1964 to

To win a client's case in court, a lawver usually has to find a draft-board error either in procedure or in interpretation of the law. In many instances, that search is not difficult. Some men have been drafted at a meeting of only two out of five members of a board: yet the law requires that no fewer than three be present. A San Francisco lawver, Joel Shawn, 33, recently persuaded a federal judge to rule for his client because a majority of the draft-board members lived outside the district, a violation of the Selective Service rule that a man should be drafted only by his neighbors

As long as draft boards can act capriciously, draft lawyers perform a valid legal service. Unfortunately, an obvious problem is that men who can afford skilled draft lawyers have a clear advantage over the sons of poor families who cannot pay high legal fees. Though some lawyers are helping to train "draft counselors," who give free help, the poor still get less than professional advice-more sad proof that the present draft laws not only make draft lawyers necessary but also breed contempt for law in general.

### If the face seems familiar, congratulations are in order.



If you've seen one of these faces before, behind your pharmacy counter, you're lucky. It means your pharmacis has won the "Bowl of Hygeia"—an award given once a year to those who set the standards for the rest of their profession. It means that among highly specialized, knowledgeable, and responsible people, this pharmacist still manages to excel both professionally and as a public servant. Each was the choice of his or her own pharmaceutical association. A. H. Robins salutes them all with the "Bowl of Hygeia". If one is your pharmacist, be sure to offer congratulations with a handshake. A. H. ROBINS COMPANY, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.



### BEHAVIOR

#### DYING

### Out of Darkness

A group of medical and theological students, nurses and social workers gathers every other Wednesday in a room at the University of Chicago's Billings Hospital to learn about dying. The seminar's instructors are indisputable authorities on the subject. They are all terminal patients in the hospital who have volunteered to share with strangers the last and most terrifying experience of life. Now in its fifth year, the Chicago seminar has vanquished the conspiracy of silence that once shrouded the hospital's terminal wards. It has brought death out of the darkness. In so doing, it has shown how, and with what quiet grace, the human spirit composes itself for extinction.

The course was the chance inspiration of Psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, 43, born and trained in Switzerland, who joined Chicago's faculty in 1965. She tells the story in a book, On Death and Dying (Macmillan; \$6.95). It began with a visit from four Chicago Theological Seminary students who wanted to do a study of life's greatest and final crisis. "When I wanted to know what it was like to be schizophrenic," Dr. Kübler-Ross told her callers, "I spent a lot of time with schizophrenics. Why not do the same thing? We will sit together with dying patients and ask them to be our teachers

On Borrowed Time. To her surprise, the psychiatrist encountered stubborn resistance not from the dying but from the quick. The reaction of physicians ranged from annoyance to overt hostility. Once this wall of official resistance was breached, Dr. Kübler-Ross found that the dying themselves were found that the dying themselves were

only too willing to talk. In four years the seminar has heard from 150 patients; there have been only three refusals. The author now understands why. "To live on borrowed time," she writes, "to wait in vain for the doctors to make their rounds, lingering on from visiting hours to visiting hours, looking out of the window, hoping for a nurse with some extra time for a chat, this is the way many terminally ill patients pass their time. Is it then surprising when such a patient is intrigued by a strange visitor who wants to talk to her about her own feelings?" From these feelings, freely given, the seminar has been able to trace the five successive stages of life's last

The dying patient's first reaction is denial: "No, not me." The response serves an important function. Writes Dr. Kübler-Ross: "It allows the patient to collect himself and, with time, mobilize other, less radical defenses."

Denial eventually yields to deep agger: "Why me?" A 50-year-old dentst, dying of cancer, told the seminar: "An old man whom I have known esince I was a little kid came down the street. He was 82 years old, and he is of no earthly use as far as we mortals of the seminary of the

▶ Resentment is succeeded in turn by borgoining—a campaign, often undetectable, to somehow stay execution of sentence. A difficult patient may abruptly turn cooperative; the reward he seeks for good behavior is an extension of life. The author cites the poignant case of an opera singer, her face consumed by a fatal malignancy, who begged for a chance to sing one last time; thus, death would have to wait. She did—and it did. —and it did.

▶ After the bargaining stage, the patient generally sinks into a profound depression. This stage, the author believes, has a positive side. The patient is weighing the fearful price of death, preparing himself to accept the loss of everything and everyone he loves.

► The fifth and final stage is occeptonce, when at last the condemned patient bows to his sentence. "I think this is the miracle," the seminar was told by one woman who had steadfastly refused to accept the fact of her impending death. "I am ready now and not even afraid any more." She died the following day.

Dr. Kübler-Ross warns that the patient's final resignation should not be mistaken for euphoria, as it sometimes is. Passivity is a better description: "His circle of interest diminishes. He wishes to be left alone or at least not stirred

MUNCH'S "BY THE DEATH BED



up by news and problems of the outside world." The patient's family often misinterpret this state as rejection. "We can be of greatest service to them," the author reasons, "if we help them understand that only patients who have worked through there's slowly and peacefully detach themselves slowly and peacefully that the family needs the most support, the patient perhaps the least."

Even after acceptance of the inevitable, it is the rare terminal case who had abandons hope. When that occurs, says we the author, death is imminent. In an age in which religious faith seems to be termibling hope provides the means of enduring the months and years of suffering and of living with the foreknowledge of death. "I don't think about dying, I think about living," said one indignant 53-year-old patient; his losing struggle was then ints 20th year.

Dr. Kübler-Ross concludes that the patient who is not officially told that his illness is fatal always discovers the truth anyway, and may resent the deception, however well meant. Her message is above all for those around the dying patient, and it is one so obvious that it has long been overlooked. The dying are living too, bitter at being prematurely consigned-by indifference, false cheerfulness and isolation-to the bourn of the dead. It is not death they fear, but dying, a process almost as painful to see as to endure, and one on which society-and even medicine-so readily turns its back.

### **PSYCHIATRY**

#### Dividend from Viet Nam During World War II, U.S. Army

field commanders discovered that they were losing more troops to combat stress than to the enemy. One man in ten was knocked out of action by battle-induced mental disorder; in 1943.

duced mental disorder; in 1943, more men were discharged because of psychiatric reasons than were inducted. Moreover, such casualties were usually elliniated permanently from the war; they were shipped home and discharged. Today in Viet Nam, the psychiatric casualty rate is down to one man in 100. And most of the victims rejoin their units within two days.

One reason for this dramatic reduction is a considerable improvement in the fighting man's lot. Hot meak almost daily, swift evacuation of the wounded by belicopter, regular periods of R and R (rest and recreation) far from the battle cone, steady troop rotation—all these, by contributing to the soldier's peace of utility to the soldier's peace of utility to the soldier's peace of the so



### Tonight take someone to dinner with The New Money -even though she's 10,000 miles away.

It's your mother's birthday and you want to take her to dinner.

But she's in Japan on a tour (American Express, no doubt) and you're in the U.S. That's where The New Money—the American Express Card—pays off.

With The New Money's exclusive "Be My Guest" service, you can play absentee host for a party halfway round the world or down the block.

Tell American Express who you're taking to dinner and where you're taking them. We do the rest. The dinner, plus a handling charge, is put on your statement. For details, write: "Be My Guest," Box 700, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

When you can entertain in person, The New Money offers you an enormous choice of restaurants in the United States and around the world.

So many good places to eat, in fact, that choosing can become difficult. To help you out we publish re-

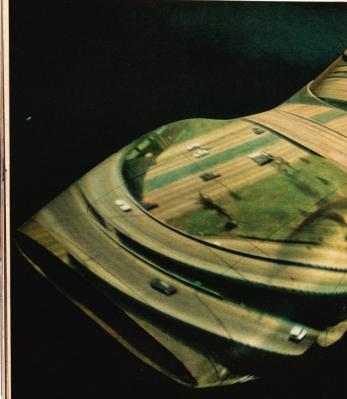
Io help you out we publish regional and worldwide dining and entertainment directories. They're free with every New Money Card.

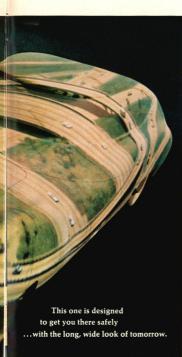
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The U.S. Interstate System will last for 10 trillion vehicle miles.

It has to.

In the next fifteen years highway traffic will double. That's not a pretty picture when you figure that since we started driving, two million Americans have met death on our roads. Last year alone 55,500 died. And unless we do more this figure will continue to climb.

We can't just shake this off as inevitable—as the American way of death. Safety is a problem we must face now, before it gets worse.

Modern roads—built to Interstate safety standards—can help save our greatest convenience from becoming our greatest tragedy.

But just building more and more freeways isn't the answer. We've got to do something with what we have. By re-engineering primary and secondary roads we can break up heavy traffic, eliminate bottlenecks and dangerous intersections. We can make all our roads more compatible to modern cars.

The Interstate System is an important first step. Though not yet completed, its modern design is already saving nearly 5,000 lives a year. And this

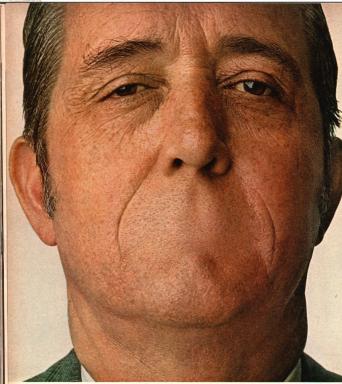
figure will continue to climb if new systems replace the old.

We hope our 1970 Model catches on. It's made for people who like to live.



We can make the world a better place to grow up in. Caterpillar machines will help.





### the silent citizen

Students riot. Races clash. Crime grows. Traffic snarls. Cities decay. Millions of people say nothing, do nothing. The silent citizens. Men without mouths.

Other voices are heard. Loud voices, with passionate convictions, crying for action. Whether their causes are good or bad, right or wrong, the silent citizen looks away.

He's often well informed and he has good ideas of his own, but he saves them for his wife and friends and people he meets at cocktail parties. He never bothers to get them across to his congressman or his newspaper

or City Hall or the school board. He never comes out in the open to confront the other point of view. If he stays silent long enough, the other point of view wins out...unless its supporters suddenly become silent too. Then they go nowhere together, silently waiting for time to run out. is seldom out of reach of a psychia artist each combard division has its sobin. There are also two fully staffed mental health clinics that accept the disturbed patient in a most unmarrial atmosphere. Military ceremony and the rule book are dropped at the door. Says Colonel Thomas Murray, chief Arm psychiatrist in South Viet Nam: "Some of our psytropy out, which are psychiatrist in South Viet Nam: "Some of our psytropy out, that has by, unexersed." In this deliberately demilitatrized ambinence, the soldier's recovery begins.

It is there, too, that combat therapy radically and abruptly departs from its civilian equivalent. "Our aim is not to please the patient," says Murray, "At home, the psychatirst's orientation is toward kindness, consideration, tender loving care. Here, to be kind would be to send your patient home." The purpose of military therapy, however, is not cure

life depends on group solidarity. Field commanders are now encouraged to prepare the new man for his chilly reception so that he will know what to expect. To abbreviate the period of distrust, the most seasoned veteran in the outfit is often made the new man's mentor and supervisor.

Another group crisis threatens when the fighting unit undergoes a change of command. This evokes feelings of recicion and anger that can, and frequently of the first consistency of the first consi



MAJOR JOEL KAPLAN

The purpose is not cure.

but amelioration. It is to get a disabled lem an

fighting man back on the line—or, if possible, to keep him on the line.

Stress Syndromes. Techniques are being tried that might not be approved by the American Psychiatric Association. In Korea, for instance, captured American soldiers who were subjected to brainwashing showed more stubborn lovalty to their military outfit than to their own moral values or even their country. In Viet Nam, this knowledge is being applied by treating the battleshocked man not as an individual but as part of his unit. Men like Major Joel Kaplan, 33, who heads the U.S. Army mental hygiene clinic in Nha Trang, recognize a number of stress syndromes that can tear the unit apart -and, in so doing, generate individual psychiatric casualties.

One of these is known as the f.n.g. (for "f. - - - g new guy") syndrome. Because of the twelve-month troop-rotation policy, each combat unit gets periodic transfusions of "new guys" unannealed by fire. The raw arrival is greeted with naked suspicion and hostility by a fighting force whose very tilty by a fighting force whose very

BATTLE-WEARY TROOPER is not cure. lem and advised to tighten discipline and control before he leaves.

New Breed. This approach, first used during World War II, helped establish one of psychiatry's newest methods: group therapy. If the efficacy of such treatment needs any further proof, psychiatrists in Viet Nam feel that they have provided it beyond any doubt. But the value of their experience may go well beyond that.

Combat psychiatrists see the battlefield not so much as a special environment but as a kind of telescoped, infinitely more stressful version of ordinary life. For this reason, and to get the men back to duty as quickly as possible, the Army is creating a new breed of lay therapist, from the battalion surgeon to the squad sergeant to the commanding officer. All these men stand on the line with the soldier. If they are taught to understand and deal with the factors that can cripple a fighting man without visibly injuring him, they can provide an effective, on-the-spot countermeasure against this elusive enemy. In Viet Nam, the lessons are being

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Photograph by Anthony Petrucelli

#### Bold new Bruf for men. By Fabergé.

If you have any doubts about yourself, try something else.



For after shave, after shower, after anything! **Brut.** 

#### TELEVISION

#### MARKETING

Programming a President
Which pair is least compatible?

- Which pair is least compatible

  1) Oil and water
- Oil and water
   Egypt and Israel
- 3) William F. Buckley Ir. and Gore
- 4) Richard Nixon and TV

In 1960, the answer would have been laughably obvious. By 1968, however, things had changed. A "new Nixon" appeared on television with the kind of polois that could sell a used car to an Amish elder. The inevitable question arose from cynics and supporters alike: How come?

According to a book published this

week, The Selling of the President 1968 (Trident Press, \$5.95), it was simply a case of good advertising. Author Joe Mccinniss, 26, a former Philadelphia newspaperman, followed Nixon's electronic campaign for about six months. He campaign for about six months. He campaign for about six months. He candidate of 1960. The difference was that in 1968 the man the public was was the man the Nixon men want-od people to see: a television Nixon correct, and—always also many concerned, and—always also specifications.

the book flow from the what's there that counts, says Raymond Price, a former editorial writer for the New York Herald Tribune and one of Nixon's speechwriters. "The response is to the image, not to the man." This, to McGinniss, became the credo of the Nixon TV campaign. "It was as if they were building not a President but an Astrodome, where the wind would never though the the product of the

One of the most important members of the Nixon TV team was Roger Ailes. a 29-year-old master of TV who met Nixon in the fall of 1967, when Ailes was executive producer of The Mike Douglas Show and Nixon was a guest. Ailes' campaign assignment was to produce Nixon's television appearances. Ailes developed the "man in the arena" format, in which Nixon confronted a panel of questioners and a studio audience. "Let's face it." Ailes told a studio director in Philadelphia. "A lot of people think Nixon is dull. They look at him as the kind of kid who always carried a book bag, who was 42 years old the day he was born. They figure other kids got footballs for Christmas, Nixon got a briefcase and he loved it. That's why these shows are important: to make them forget all that

According to McGinniss, the studio panel was carefully preselected. "First, this meant a Negro," he writes. "One Negro. Not two. Two would be offensive to whites. Two would be trying too hard." The audience was "recruited



JOE McGINNISS

Casual, concerned, sincere.

from the local Republican organizations," and cued for applause. Alles also stage-managed Nixon's appearance: a suntan instead of slapdash makeup jobs; no lectern to hide behind. Alles kept the set simple, the colors manly. Once Chicago set designers tried to not often organization of the color of the color drop. "Those stupid bastards," railed Alles. "Nixon wouldn't have looked right unless he was carrying a pockethook."

Folksy Monner. Nixon was also marketed through commercials supervised by Harry Treleaven, formerly of J. Walter Thompson. Treleaven was drinking a can of beer on the beach at Amagansett, L.I., one September day in 1967 when he was approached by a neighbor, Len Garment, a partner in Nixon's law firm. Garment invited Treleaven to handle Nixon's TV ad campaign.



ROGER AILES It's what's out front that counts.

"We went to Treleaven," said Garment later, "because of his experience with the great institutional products of America. He handled Pan Am, Ford, RCA —the established American institutions."

Nixon's staff even heeded the guidlines of a report pointing out that "the simple folksy manner of John Wayne can be effective with the target group" of voters they were after. Kevin Phillips, a vote analyst, added that "Wayne might sound bad to people in New York, but he sounds great to the shmucks we're trying to reach. The people down there along the Yahoo belt."

#### TECHNOLOGY

#### And Now SelectaVision

Tired of television? There may be a way to watch the tube without having to see what is on it now. Last week RCA presented "SelectaVision," a new system that it called "potentially the most significant development for the home since color television."

SelectaVision (SV) is designed to convert any standard TV set into a home movie projector and screen. When perfected, the SV converter will be able to play movies, operas, lessons—or even deliver an audio-visual TV magazine. RCA hopes to begin marketing the first SV adapters in 1972 for a retail price of "under \$400." Six-inch cartridges, providing a half-hour of color programming, would initially cost about \$10 paice but could be rented for far less.

Last year CBS Laboratories introduced its own playback system, called Electronic Video Recording (EVR). But the RCA version—which works through a combination of laser beams and holoography—would cost the consumer only half as much. The model RCA demnostrated last week, however, was still a a primitive prototype with grainy pieture, color distortion and no sound.

In the long run, no matter whether ICBs, RCA or another competitor comes to dominate the new field, few would disturbed to the control of the



It's not the regular kind, of course. Our thief is a long tube. We use it to see how our Jim Beam Bourbon is aging from year to year in our special charred, white oak barrels. These barrels help make that wonderful, light and warm Jim Beam task that Seen a Beam family art for nearly task that wonderful, light and warm Jim Beam task that wonderful was a state of the word with the word with less Bourbon. All it means is we end up with the best Bourbon. "World's finest Bourbon since 1795."

86 Proof Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey Distilled and Bottled by the James B. Beam Distilling Co., Clermont, Beam, Kentucky



#### The Mighty Wurlitzer.



Remember the thrills of the Mighty Wurlitzer? We're still packing 'em in...in the new Wurlitzer Theater Console Organ for your home.

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#### THE NEW MYSTIQUE OF MADEIRA GOLD

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#### The Venerability of Pop

FIRST it seemed all Brillo boxe, hoked-up cartoon strips, billboard fragments—and met mostly loud guf-fragments—and met mostly loud guf-fragments—and met mostly loud guf-faws. But after less than a decade Pop art has not only come of age: it has out the control of the control

Pop never was as radical as it has been made out to be. For one thing, it is more readily accessible to the casual viewer's sensibility than the austere absence of the control of the con

the edge of a cliff, or Charlie Chaplin falling into a machine. The pictures visually crowd the spectator, jostle and shout at him. All the vernacular of commercialism-billboards, neon signs, girlie magazines, comic books-provides the imagery. By using such familiar props, the Pop artists are commenting on the new urban landscape of supermarkets and motel rooms, of roadsides and TV commercials, a civilization in which the old-fashioned nature celebrated by oldfashioned artists has become merely a fleeting view from the window of a car, train, plane or apartment house. Thus most Pop works contain a tacit indictment of a society that allows life itself to be rolled off an assembly line: standardized, specialized, fragmented, and beautifully packaged.

As a movement, Pop is perhaps ebbing. But as its shock value wears off, it is easier to make judgments. The thin, acrid sensibility of Andy Warhol remains naggingly insistent, an idiosyncratic talent that can be derided but not dismissed. Lichtenstein's works are admired for their sharp elegance, Rosenquist's for their painterly quality, Jim Dine's for their intimacy. But each seems to have settled into the styles established by his own success. The one among them who seems to have continuously moved into progressively new and different areas, blithely leaving his successes behind him, is Claes Oldenburg.

Table Volcano. A big, burly man who looks like a scholarly truck driver or an agile Bacchus, Oldenburg is shy but not modest. "I am a magician," he says. "A magician brings dead things to life." His sculptures of food, for example. Typical, terrible American cuisine fascinates him, the kinds of things dieters like Oldenburg himself try to avoid: a wedge of pecan pie, a banana sundae, racks of assorted pastry, ice cream, cheeseburgers. Made of plaster, slathered with lush enamel paint, these goodies actually seem ready for the consumer's fork and spoon. But like fourcolor advertisements of food, they are designed more to entice than to be eaten. An Oldenburg baked potato nonetheless looks hot, smoky, delicious -with butter melting over the white insides. Yet visually it is as powerful as a volcano, with energy and drama in the eruption of its thick, baked skin.

Öldenburg sees the world with eyes as fresh and intent as a child's, and he nostance, stubbed-out cigarettes. "Everybody puts out a cigarette in a different
way, and these are particularly nervous
ones," he explains. "A fag end is a
basic geometric form—a cylinder—that
is altered by a very natural action when
it is put out. This interests me.

The soft sculptures are, of course,

the magician's most famous trick. Their success lies in their invitation to be touched and poked and in their quality of surprise. Where other artists in the past would change the color or shape of the objects they treated, Oldenburg keeps those qualities as they are and instead changes their context (a hamburger sits on the floor), size (small things become gigantic) and state (soft instead of hard). The result is a sculpture of enormous intellectual compression: it shows the stress of gravity, the effect of age, the possibility of sensuality. As a result, his sculptures force the viewer to look at everyday things with the fresh eye of discovery.

Whoever heard of a wedge of cake as big as a luncheonette booth? Or a giant fan so limp that it can hardly stand up, much less turn. Or three-way extension plugs, tall as children, and all ready to totter up to the viewer and command: "Take me to your leader!" His gleaming soft toilet slumps and sags like a geriatric patient. Oldenburg knows precisely what he is doing, "The important thing about humor is that it opens people. They relax their guard, and you can get your serious intentions across. If I were as didactic in my work as I really am, I would bore people to death. But because I can put my message in a colorful, engaging form, my message isn't heavy.

Ground Rules. To accomplish this difficult task. Oldenburg has developed some basic ground rules for his work. The subject first must be timely; he has no use for dead symbols. It must also no use for dead symbols. It must also be an object that touches the body, like furniture and food, or is constantly used, like houseware." In ever make representations of bodies but of things that relate to bodies so that the body sentence of the dead of the d

Some of his sculptures are unmistakably phallic-the food blenders, for example, or toothpaste tubes. Others are based on female forms: the hamburgers, light switches, the soft version of Chrysler's 1935 Airflow, But every good Freudian knows all that without having to prowl within a sculptor's imagination. On the other hand, who could anticipate Oldenburg's explanation of his sculpture Raisin Bread, Sliced? "It was conceived as a sort of Parthenon and was also suggested by a picture I saw of Paris' Madeleine Church turning into a loaf of bread. The piece has a lot to do with excrement and sex. It also has to do with cutting.

"All I need," says Oldenburg, "is for something to stick in my mind. Like Henry Miller's nose. It has a strange, puffy quality. Then it begins to work within a scheme of resemblances. The nose metamorphoses into a fireplug; the plug into a coin phone box; the phone into a car." Once, just to discover exactly what did happen to a banana?



The magician's most famous rick. unreluctant elders. Those meticulous Dutch still lifes of fruits and game are reflected in Pop's soup cans, candy canes, slabs of goocy cake, giant Coke bottles. Although the works might appear to be flip, slick and sexy, they also brim with menace. When they are funny, which is often, it is with the roccarious

humor of Harold Lloyd teetering on

fare merchandising only through Dec. 31. After the CAB took that action, Alitalia acted unilaterally to cut fares.

IATA's 23 North Atlantic carrier members will meet next week in Europe to work out a new fare structure. But many of the airlines are still sharply split over whether, how and by how much to change their prices. That leaves the transatlantic traveler as confused and unhappy as ever.

#### BANKING

#### And Now the Cashomat

There are still some things that credit cards cannot buy. So last week the Bank of America, the nation's largest, came to the aid of cash-short consumers by installing an automatic "cash dispenser" outside one of its branches in San Francisco. Anyone with a checking account at the bank can withdraw \$25 simply by inserting a plastic identification card and punching a code number on a ten-digit keyboard. The machine verifies the information by means of electronic sensors, then slips the monev to the customer through another slot. It keeps the card, which is returned by mail. The withdrawal is deducted from the depositor's checking account, along with a 1% service charge. If a card holder punches the wrong code number or tries to use an invalid card, a lighted notice tells him to try again. If he is unsuccessful on the third try, the machine swallows his card. That allows the bank to determine whether he used a canceled card or merely punched the wrong code number.

First developed in Europe, the cashomats are also in use at banks in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York and at the Sumitomo Bank of California. The machines are obviously convenient for after-hours withdrawals. Even during banking hours, they save customers the time and trouble of lining un at tellers' counters.



WITHDRAWING DOLLARS IN SAN FRANCISCO
Three tries, and then gulp.



Let down on the distinctive dryness, the delicate flavour of Gordon's Gin? Never! Every bottle is based on Mr. Gordon's original 1769 formula. So you pour a drier drink in 1969, our 200th Anniversary year. A fanatic devotion to our discoverer? Perhaps. But then any other way just wouldn't be cricket!

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STATISTICS: DEPT. OF HEW-OFFICE OF EDUCAT

#### THE HIGH PRICE OF REPRESSION

N today's Prague, practically no one works more than three hours a day. Once the most industrious and prosperous of Eastern Europeans, the Czechoslovaks are passively resisting Soviet occupation by the only means left to them: loafing. They wander aimlessly in the streets and fill the pubs from early morning until closing time. Construction sites are deserted. Office workers arrive late and often do not return after lunch. Says a factory foreman: "If you saw our plant at peak production hours, you would think we were on strike." "There is no respect for superiors, because they do nothing either," adds a Czechoslovak manager.

In desperation, Prague's purge-minded regime last week replaced the ministers of planning, finance, foreign trade and price control. The government also decreed that the five-day work week will be increased to six, apparently in the belief that production will rise proportionately. That is a dubious assumption. Visitors to Prague are assured that industrial sabotage continues unabated. Few Czechoslovaks seem to care that they themselves, and not the Soviet occupiers, are the first victims. They seem bent on committing slow economic suicide; which in its way is as tragic as the destruction of political freedom a year ago

year ago.

Chains on Boby Corrioges. The consequences of the economic slowdown to continue the continue that the continu

carry suitcases stuffed with food. Residents of Prague find it almost impossible to buy towels, diapers, flashlight batteries, handkerchiefs, women's underwear, sheets, pillowcases and baby carriages. The shortages have spawned a new black market, and parents now chain their baby carriages to guard against theft. Construction has slowed so drastically that of 6,000 new apartments planned for this year, fewer than 100 have been completed. Because of a lack of coal, the government has reduced supplies available to schools and homes-a harsh step as cold weather approaches-and has cut electricity to

Czechoslovakia is rúnning into balance of payments difficulties and has had to cut back drastically on its imports of production equipment. The country's primary exports, including timber and Prague ham, are in short supply. Another reason for the export decline is the increasing shoddiness of Czechoslovak 2004. A survey of factory managers showed that two-thirds of them give priority to the home market because, the report said, "the people are not selective," The men in charge of the economy vigorously protest the refusal of the U.S. to grant Czehoslovakia most-favored-nation tariff treatment. By stimulating sales to the U.S., such a step could give the Czechoslovaks a pay-thological as well as an economic lift.

Scopegoets, The beleaguered country has become a classic case study in Communist mismanagement and exploitation. Before World War II, "Made in Czechoslovakia" was a hallmark of excellence in steel, machine tools, glass, textiles, machinery and leather. The



CZECHS GOING TO WORK IN PRAGUE
The loafer is a hero.

Czechoslovaks survived the war with their industrial plants largely intact, but then came the Communist coup of 1948. Prague adopted the Soviet economic system, and the Soviets, in turn, drained Czechoslovakia, buying its production at dictated prices. One notable example is uranium. Czechoslovakia had the world's first producing uranium mine, and it supplied the pitchblende from which Mme. Curie isolated radium. During the 1950s, Russia bought most of Czechoslovakia's uranium for the cost of production, which was set artificially low because the mines were manned largely by unpaid political prisoners and located on state-owned land.

When the demand for reform became overwhelming in 1966, the rigid regime of Antonín Novotný hesitantly began decentralizing the economy while trying to maintain tight political control. After Alexander Dubček rose to power in 1968, he added the vital ingredient of political freedom and adopted a series of reforms proposed by Economist Ola Sik. As Depuy Prime Minister under Dubček, Sik initiated management of the properties of the proticularly in consumer industries that had suffered from decades of neglect. Sik also hoped to get \$400 million in credis from the West, a step that would have relieved Czechoslovakia of some for markets and raw materials.

The Soviet invasion killed that hope. Dubček's successor, Gustav Husák, justly complains that he took over an economy in chaos—but unjustly blames the Dubček regime and specifically Sik, who is on indefinite official leave in Switzer-

land. The chaos is really the result of the repeal of the Publick and Sik reforms, and of the fact that Czechs today commonly proclaim: "We are not going to work for the Russians." The Soviets, for their part, are doing nothing to help. They are withholding sorely needed credits until political "normalization" is complete.

Gradual Freeze, Bound by Communist orthodoxy, the country's new rulers have ordered a return to highly centralized planning, and they have threatened loafing workers with "ideological training"-a euphemism for force. The government has brought in Yugoslav construction crews. Polish textile workers and Hungarian railroad men, and called on Czech workers to work "voluntary" weekend shifts to commemorate Lenin's 100th birthday next year. The notion ironically harks back to the freely given "Dubček shifts" that workers put in during their

brief springtime of freedom. Otherwise, the occupation regime's tinkering with the economy has made the situation worse. A 16% wage increase in the first half of 1969 only increased the first half of 1969 only increased the rate of inflation. Now the regime is trying to freeze wages and prices, but is applicable to the properties of the populace. Since there are no visible results, the effort succeeds only in angering everyone.

Because Czechoslowska expect a devaluation of their currency at any time, they are spending at a frenzied pace, even though the weeking the properties of the properties of the properties of the protor of shoes. As prices sprial during, Prague is filled with rumors that clothing will soon be rationed. Inflation could be halted, and many other economic ailments eased, if the Czechoslowska would return to their old habits of industriconsess, but the people are manifestly



JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY is made just like it was over a century ago. Our retirees\* here help see to that.

These men learned their jobs from Lem Motlow (who learned it himself from Mr. Jack Daniel). And they've passed on their knowledge to the younger generations who make our whiskey today. You see, our retirees can tell you more about whiskey-making than any six men we know. And we can promise you this: There's not one of them who abides any meddling with the rare sippin' taste of Jack Daniel's.

CHARCOAL
MELLOWED

DROP

BY DROP

\*Standing: left to right; Lant Wood (age 88), Lem Tolley (age 71), Irv Crutcher (age 69). Seated: left to right, Clarence Rolman (age 67), Lawrence Waggoner (age 79), Lucas Philipot (age 87

TENNESSEE WHISKEY + 90 PROOF BY CHOICE + DISTILLED AND BOTTLED BY JACK DANIEL DISTILLERY + LYNCHBURG (POP. 384). TENN

unwilling to do so unless there is a general liberalization.

The Soviet conquerors are in a bind. They fear that economic liberalization and reform would lead inexorably to demands for more political freedom, which they are unwilling to allow. But if Cechenslovakia is to have an economy that can reliably produce for the Commiss, the hard-liners wooner or later musts, the hard-liners wooner or later there is still a glimmer of wry Czechoslovak bumor, as illustrated by a joke that is making the rounds in Prague:

2. What would happen if Czecho-

slovakia should gain control of the Sahara desert?

 Within two years, we would have to import sand.

#### COTTON

#### Bad Days on the Plantation

In the 14 states that make up the U.S. cotton belt, the unmitskable racket of mechanical cotton pickers filled the air last week. It was harvest time for the crop that reigned supreme in the South for a century. But even though modern machines have largely displaced the lattered ranks or Negro field hands, or conceal the fact that King Cotton is in deep trouble.

All the king's men—the 300,000 U.S. cotton farmers—will harvest little more than 11 million bales this year, compared with 18 million in 1955, when the U.S. produced half the world's supply. That proportion is now down to a fifth—and the U.S. cotton industry is

under assault from growers in Brazil, Mexico, Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey. Last year the U.S. exported only 2.7 million bales of cotton, compared with 4.2 million in 1967.

Even more of a threat is posed by the rapid advances of synthetics, which last year outsold cotton 2 to 1. The cotton industry is fighting back, but its 513 million research and advertising campaign amounts at best to a rearguard action. Research is concentrated on quick development of permanent-press fabrics made entirely of cotton. Orientarily, such fabrics must be strength-directly and the permanent pressure and the permanent pressure and the permanent perman

Such small gains are not nearly enough to reverse cotton's decline, which has all but wiped out the once bustling exchanges of the South. The exchange in New Orleans, from which clipper ships braved Northern blockades during the Civil War, closed in 1964 and is mow a dusty, rotting building. The Galveston and Charleston exchanges shut down last year. Next to go, most likely, will be Houston's, which sold only 100. Our basks in 1968. There is little left of the company of the control of the contro

Ironically, both synthetics makers and foreign growers were given access to cotton's domain as an unforescen result of U.S. Government policy. The troubles began with rigid. Depression-born price peak of 324/e a pound in 1955. They were aimed at propping the growers' income, but in the process they raised the price of U.S. cotton above the gomes with the property of the property

ers, who complained that they had to pay more for U.S. cotton than competing foreign mills. Washington's answer was to add a third subsidy, this time for the millers.

The costly and cumbersome system was replaced in 1965 by one that provides only two subsidies-both for growers. The first, amounting to 11¢ a pound this year, is paid directly to the farmer, on condition that he limit his cotton acreage. The second, technically a "loan" from the Commodity Credit Corp., supports the price of cotton at 90% of the fluctuating world rate, and this year is set at 201¢ per pound. The advantage of this arrangement is that U.S. cotton prices are no longer fixed at artificially high levels. Trouble is, the current system was adopted only after foreign growers had entrenched themselves in a market once dominated by the U.S.

Vague Proposal. The Nixon Administration's policy seems realistically designed not so much to recapture lost ground as to lessen the cost of supporting King Cotton, Two weeks ago, when he appeared before the House Agriculture Committee, which must produce new legislation before the present subsidy program expires next year, Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin suggested some important modifications. He would continue the direct payments to growers but encourage some farmers to shift to more profitable crops. He would also lower the price support. With that, the Government could save as much as \$250 million of the \$1 billion annual cost of supporting cotton.

Hardin purposely left his proposal vague, throwing much of the responsibility for a workable program to the farm-belt Congressmen. That, at least, offers an opportunity for change in a business that has been harmed more than helped by the complicated schemes spun by federal bureaucrats, who are far from the soil.



MECHANICAL HARVESTER



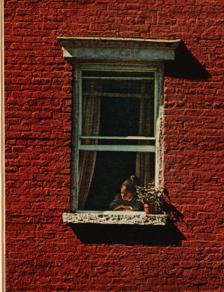
All the king's men cannot put a market together again.

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ELI LILLY AND COMPANY, INDIANAPOLIS

#### MODERN LIVING

#### DESIGN

Prince of Prints

If Emilio Pucci is not a Renaissance man, he is doing one of the best imitations around. A Florentine marchese with a pedigree dating to Donatello, the designer, artist, sportsman, politician into the fashion lesicon of the decade. With the opening of, a one-man show of silk-screens, tapestry rugs and sculptures in New York last week, Pucci, at 454, seems about to do for walls and floors what he has done for fashionable in splinters and wivils of color, the them in splinters and wivils of color, the them

Color is what Pucci is all about Whether it be palazzo pajamas, shirts and skirts, or scarves and body stockings. Pucci brands his artifacts with a kaleidoscope of shades and hues. What makes his performance all the more bravura (and saves him nearly \$100,000 a year in samples) is his ability to visualize some 80 different colors in his mind. Like do-it-yourself, fill-in-thenumbers paintings, his designs go off to the factory as line drawings spotted with the numbers of his private rainbow. Invariably, he is pleased with the result. Seeing his Argentine-woven rugs (\$700 to \$1,500 each) for the first time last week, he remarked simply: "I find these rather superb.

Pucci came to the calling by which he is best known almost by accident. His education was more appropriate for a scholar than for a designer; he holds an M.A. in social science from Reed College in Oregon and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Florence. Pucci joined the Italian air

Florence, Pucci joined the Italian air force in World War II and garlanded

PUCCI & SILK-SCREENS
Swathed in splinters and swirls.

himself in medals and citations as a bomber pilot. With the war's end, he set-tled in Switzerland, living the good life on the slopes. It was at St. Mortiz that a roving Harper's Bazaur photographer are the slope of the slope

Electric Complaints, Everyone knows, of course, that politics and pulchritude don't mix. Everyone that is, except Pucci, who combines them as neatly as he does his colors and patterns. He is a member of the Italian Parliament in the minority Liberal (meaning conservative) Party. At his Palazzo Pucci on Via Pucci in downtown Florence. he spends hours a day sorting through stacks of mail from the worlds of both fashion and politics. "One letter may be a request for an interview as a fashion designer." he says, "The next letter is from a constituent who complains about the electricity service in his village." With his elegant wife Cristina, 31, and two children, Pucci lives the restless life, traveling, speaking, designing, electioneering (he hands out signed scarves with his campaign literature).

His first men's fashion line was presented last week in Houston, featuring collarless suits with wide lapels and lined with his trademark, brightly patterned silk. His next project: modern furniture. "Twe done the drawings." he says. "They started out as a joke, a hobby, but hey've gotten scrious. I try tow. I want to keep doing what I've aiways done, which is the best I can within my own limitations." So far, those limitations—whatever tey may be —have been kept pretty well out of view.

#### RECREATION

Making Waves

"Surf's up!" The cry is universal, both exultation and invitation. It echoes through the mecas of surfdom like a call to battle, from Mar del Plata to Makaha, from Sydney to Tempe, Ariz. Tempe, Ariz. Surfing?

Oh, yes. At Tempe's jisst opened "Big Surf," the nearest ocean is 350 miles away, the sand beach was trucked in from Phoenis, and the waves are manrous to the property of the property of is. Every 40 seconds, a new wave cascades from one end of the 24 acre lagoon, carrying as many as 30 boards and bodies on waves up to five feet high. "You don't have to wait for that Surfing Champion Fred Henmings, Ir., Surfing Champion Fred Henmings, Ir.



ARIZONA'S "BIG SURF" Inland ocean for fun and profit.

head instructor at the facility. "The surf is always up."

The novel stea of making inland waves for fru and profit came to a young Phoenix draftsman after a stay on the California coast in 1965. It took Phil Dexter a year to build his first model to get it working the way he wanted it. Clarrol Inc., which uses surfing as a motif to promote hair coloring, put up the two million for the project. Now, Polynesia-style complex of palms and high-roofed South Pacific huts housing shops, concessions and piente areas.

Deters's wave-making apparatus is fairly single. Hydraulic pumps force millions of gallons of water per hour into a concrete reservoir at the far end of the lagoon. Underwater gates spring open at intervals, releasing the water and generating the waves. The size of the waves is controlled by the amount of water pumped into the reservoir and no two curls are exactly the same. Riders can climb stainway directly to the short. Though the fresh water is less buoyant than seawater, the difference to the surfer is negligible.

The cost for a day's riding ranges from SI for children to SI for adults. Teams of lifeguards enforce strict safe-ty precautions and instruct landlocked tyros. It inland surfing catches on, a projected Clairol subsidiary may build other such centers around the country, paying a royalty to Dexter and his 30 stockholders. In the meantime, Dexter is practicing his surfing. Though he loves the sport, he has never before found time to get very good at it.

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#### MILESTONES

Born. To King Constantine of Greece, 29, who for the past 22 months has been living in self-exile in Rome, and Queen Anne-Marie, 23, formerly princess of Denmark; their third child, second son; in Rome.

Married, James Roosevelt, 61, eldest son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and a former U.S. Congressman, now a director of a Geneva-based international investment firm; and Mary L. (winskil), 32, a British schoolteacher, he for the fourth time (he was granted wife, Gladys Owens Roosevelt, who stabbed him in May); in a private ceremony; in Hyde Park, N.Y.

Died, Henry Thompson, 43, former sugging third haseman for the New York Giants; of livel disease; in Fersen, Callf. Thompson and Outfielder Monte Irvin were the first of many Negro stars signed by Leo Durocher, and the policy paid off handsomely when central Giant policy paid off handsomely when central Giant pennant drive in 1954. In the World Series that year, "Hammerin' Lank," as he was called, helped rout the formidable Cleveland Indians with a 1-644 batting average. He hit 129 major league homers before injuries and 1957.

Died. Dr. Thomas Francis Jr., 69, pioneering American virologist and head of the epidemiology department at the University of Michigan; following abdominal surgery; in Ann Arbor, Mich, In 1934 Francis made medical history by isolating the classic A strain of influenza; he identified the virulent B strain in 1940, and by 1944 he had conquered both with a vaccine so dependable that it was used to inoculate the entire U.S. Army two years later. But his greatest success came in 1954, when he supervised the unprecedented field trials (covering 1,800,000 children in 44 states at an expense of \$7,500,000) that validated the effectiveness of the polio vaccine developed by one of Francis' former pupils: Jonas Salk.

Died. Kimon Georgiev, 87, Bulgarian politician whose machinations twice made him Premier of his country; in Sofia, More back-room manipulator than statesman. Georgiev was a master of Balkan intrigue; in 1934, with one unsuccessful coup already to his credit, he engineered the overthrow of the government and installed himself as Premier, only to be toppled within a year by lovalist army officers. After collaborating with the Communists during World War II, he was rewarded by again being put in as Premier when the Russians occupied Bulgaria. He was replaced with a hand-picked party official the following year.

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#### CINEMA

#### FESTIVALS

Modest Fame

Film-festival movies are like mistresses in a man's life: the later they come along, the more they have to do to please, or even be remembered. Judged from this jaundiced point of view, a few films of the second segment of the seventh New York Film Festival still achieved a modest fame.

Jean-Luc Godard would certainly resent the comparison, but he makes movies the way some manufacturers make washing machines—with planned obsolescence. Only a few years after their

to the tradition of postwar Italian realism and its masters, among them Rossellini and De Siea. Yet Olimis filling seem more precise, more tightly coner's sense of composition and a novelist's sense of rhythm and construction. The plot of One Fine Day is much like an anecdote by Chekhov. A middleaged Milanee William of the Chekhov. A middleaged Milanee will be the construction of the and comfortable life of reasonable success with his job, with his family and swomen. Two intimations of death destroy this placed equilibrium: a colleague meeting and the executive himself acmeeting and the executive himself acvolves a 34-year-old engineer named Jean-Louis (Jean-Louis Trintignant) whose loneliness is only reinforced by an abiding sense of his own stringent Roman Catholicism. An evening with Maud, a ravishing divorcee (Francoise Fabian), turns into a kind of two-way ethics seminar in the bedroom, with Maud patiently listening to the engineer expound his views while slyly-but unsuccessfully-trying to coax him into bed. Jean-Louis eventually marries a vulnerable young blonde (Marie-Christine Barrault), but a chance seaside encounter with Maud a few years later discloses that it was Jean-Louis's wife who had broken up Maud's marriage. The circle is closed-and Jean-Louis finds himself trapped inside. The film is executed with a mathematical certainty that (despite the seemingly interminable scene in Maud's bedroom) makes it a dry but constant pleasure. The meticulous acting of the small cast might fairly stand as a study model for light comedy.

A ghost haunts Richard Attenborough's Oh! What a Lovely War. Memories of Joan Littlewood's acerbic and

segment of what Director Eric Rohmer

calls his Six Moral Tales, Maud in-

exhilarating vaudeville rendering of World War I-surely one of the great theatrical events of the decade-hang heavy over this sincere but lumbering film. Littlewood used the English music hall as a metaphor for the madness of the whole war. Attenborough transfers this basically theatrical conceit to an amusement pier at Brighton and loses much of the kinetic anger of the stage original in transit. Lacking any real order, the film wanders like some shell-shocked veteran from period songs to blackout sketches to satiric historical re-creations; it never once comes together into any sort of consistent or even coherent rhythm. Still, there are compensations. The large cast (including Ralph Richardson, Dirk Bogarde, John Gielgud, Laurence Olivier, Michael Corin and Vanessa Redgrave) is uniformly excellent, and the cine-matography (by Gerry Turpin) is lavish and handsome. Even the music, which alternates between the naive but savage jingoism of the home front and the bemused bitterness of the trenches, strikes precisely the right note of historical irony. Despite its few scenes of splendid, subtle savagery (like John Mills, as Sir Douglas Haig, praying for victory "before the Americans arrive"), Oh! What a Lovely War too often becomes bogged down in its own dogged sincerity and finally becomes mired, like

It seems, initially, an unlikely subject for the director of Elvira Madigan, that pastel paradigm of abject romanticism. In the late summer of 1931, in the Swedish factory town of Adalen, four workers and a girl were killed in a march to protest governmental indifference during a long and bitter wage strike. The im-

some promising but unwieldy fieldpiece,

in the Marne's mud.



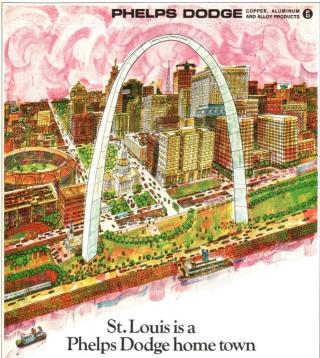
FABIAN, BARRAULT & TRINTIGNANT IN "MAUD"

Two-way ethics in the bedroom.

release. Godard films become museum pieces. His innovations are adopted by other film makers, who (like Haskell Wexler in the kinetic Medium Cool) either put his techniques to better dramatic use or (like Agnès Varda in the festival's ludicrous Lions Love) sink beneath the weight of aimless stylistic decoration. Le Gai Savoir features Jean-Pierre Léaud and Juliet Berto sitting around a TV studio engaging in a lot of Mickey Mouse debate about linguistics and mouthing doses of Godard's peculiar politics (the FBI had Bobby Kennedy shot) and aesthetics (Léaud shows striking workers two truly revolutionary films: Lola Montes and The Great Dictator). It may all be dreary now, but in ten years Savoir will have a certain faint curiosity value-kind of like a 1936 Easy washer with wringer.

If a single film could justify the entire film festival, then this year that film is certainly Ermanno Olmi's One Fine Day. It harks back in some ways cidently runs over a construction worker. The colleague recovers, and the executive is apparently acquitted of the manslaughter charge, but everything has been changed forever. The last scene finds him huddled at home with his wife one night in front of the television set, staring at the screen, with impending doom etched into his face. This is one of those rare films in which all the elements work together. The performances seem the very stuff of reality, the color photography is beautiful without being demonstrative, and the music is both functional and original. Olmi's artistry is obtrusive, but always at the service of his material. On the basis of One Fine Day and two earlier films, The Fiancés and The Sound of Trumpets. Olmi must be considered a new and worthy master of the humanist cinema.

Ma Nuit Chez Maud is a cool, deliberate, intellectual little comedy that makes an ideal festival film. The third



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about a new gasoline... ours or anyone else's. But, if you don't think new DX gasoline is better than the gasoline you're now using, we'll give your money back on your initial purchase if made under the DX Trial Bond.

#### The monkey's on our back

(and the mask will be on your face).

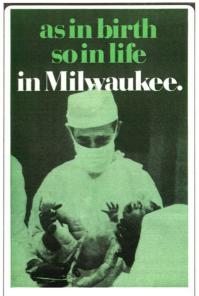


mediate impact of the event was violent, tragic, indexisive. But the shock waves set off by that one bloody clash ultimately toppled the government and brought a whole new regime to power. Bo Wid-erberg perceives not only the obvious political and historical implications in the event, but, even more strongly, the intimate, personial histories that it altered and destroyed.

Adalen '31 is most deeply about the ineffable, invaluable quality of a single moment in the life of man, when a casual encounter or a supper at twilight is enclosed and enriched by the imminence of violent tragedy. Such scenes are framed in the shimmering light of a Swedish summer and seem idvllic, almost unworldly; but Widerberg handles the chaotic confrontation scene between workers and army troopers with a precise sense of brutality that proves that he is not entirely a romantic. The very gentleness and simplicity of much of the visual imagery-the names of Renoir and Monet are constantly and rightly invoked in the dialogue-acts as counterpoint to the violence even as they deepen the sense of a past gone forever. There is a certain sentimentality involved in this kind of approach that prevents Adalen '31 from being the kind of great political document that The Battle of Algiers was. As a poi-gnant portrait of people caught in the flux of history, however, it has seldom been surpassed.

"An empty garden," announces the narrator somewhat superfluously as the camera pans slowly around an empty garden. "It is perhaps a hotel, It is a cold summer. Perhaps everyone is resting." Everything, in other words, is equivocal. The only certainty is that Destroy, She Said is a perfect cinema parody of the maddening affectations of the French anti-novelists. During vacation week at a hotel (no, not Marienhad) in the middle of a forest. Professor Henri Garcin is seduced by another woman (Catherine Sellers) as his young wife (Nicole Hiss) looks vacantly into the camera and does a lot of wondering about illusion and reality. She is consoled by a writer (Michel Lonsdale) who talks a lot about being Jewish (no, not Philip Roth). Nothing happens, but that, of course, is the order

If one can overlook the fact that Desiron, She Said is munmifyingly boring, it is actually quite a lot of fun. Magpuerite Daras, who executed this excellent satire, has good reredentials for high Besides writing the screepings with the said of th



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#### BOOKS

#### Only When I Laugh

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS by Vine Deloria. 279 pages. Macmillan. \$5.95.

Indian history is notoriously full of proken covenants, callous hore soldiers and greedy land-grabbers—all encourses aged from Washington. Though Vine Deloria dwells on such things with sux-age wit in this remarkable book, he is more bitterly concerned with the recent past and the have worked among the past and the barece worked among the bytes officially baneful agencies—compassionate missionates, humane anthropologists and liberal bureauerasts. Their doings, says Deloria, justifiably provoked

dians wanted U.S. forces to get out of Viet Nam, 85% wanted U.S. forces to get out of America. The source of Indian humor, Deloria makes clear, is a kind of desperation that makes for grim laughter: "If they bring that War on Poverty to our reservation, they'll know they've been in a fight."

Termination and Tribalism. The book ranges from the origins of scalping to differences between the new black and the old red nationalism. But Deloria really wants to talk about topics that few white Americans know anything about —termination and tribalism.

Termination is the proposed final solution to the Indian problem, a Government policy advocated since 1953

of liberal, high-minded and progressive men, among them Senator Frank Church of Idaho, is indicative of a historic conflict between the highest white American ideals and the requirements for Indian cultural survival. For nearly a century, the American dream has been a composite society in which arriving immigrants, eager to be assimilated, dropped their old folkways in favor of the means provided by their adopted countrymen. Until just lately, American rhetoric glorified the melting pot-and assumed that it was working. Then blacks, who could not really be assimilated because of their color, and some whites who gave thought to the strength and vitality lost with the old ways, began to complain. Indians, Deloria says, have always objected. For more than 100 years they have been desperately trying to practice red nationalism in a white land. In Deloria's opinion, the termination policy, which implies integration of Indians, is a loser's game. It has not worked and it will not work. It creates hardship among Indians, and it does not, in the long run, save money, Indians do not want to be assimilated. They want to be themselves. Jobs and Education. The enduring

They have, in fact, cost Wisconsin near-

was brought about with the approval

The fact that the Menominee fiasco

ly \$2 million.

quality of the Indian, Deloria says, lies in the tribe. Tribes behave in many different ways. Yet "they stubbornly hold on to what they feel is important to them and discard what they feel is irrelevant to their current needs." Deloria has as little patience, however, with those anthropologists who feel that Indians should ignore the white world and immerse themselves in folk customs as he has with tribal chieftains ("Uncle Tomahawks," calls them) who will do anything to butter up the whites. What he clearly hopes for is a sensible use of both worlds. Indians should keep their reservations as a source of renewal and spiritual strength but exploit opportunities offered by the white world, both in jobs and education, to make themselves and their dependents self-supporting.

White cultural history may at last be moving in favor of the Indians. The new emphasis on the value of primitive societies, the growing U.S. concern over maintaining the ecological balance of the continent, the agitation of black nationalists for a separate but equal black culture in white America are all significant to Deloria. In some ways, too, uptight white institutions seem to be copying the Indian. With hardly any tongue in cheek, Deloria devotes a number of pages to a new form of white tribalism. What strikes his eye particularly is the clannishness and the need for reassurance implicit in the intertwined loyalties and duties that buttress giant U.S. corporations. But whether such things are a sign of healthy atavism or an invitation to Orwellian nightmare it would take a medicine man to decide.



WHITE SCOUTS AND MASSACRED INDIANS (CIRCA 1868)
He wore an Arrow shirt.

a Sioux leader to tell a congressional hearing that what the Indians really want is "a leave-us-alone law."

Deloria is in a unique position to know. A young, tough and dedicated member of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, he is, at 36, a former executive director of the National Congress of American Indians and an aspirant lawyer. He is also a wittily perceptive writer, as he shows best in a provocative chapter devoted to "Indian Humor."

Far from being wooden, Deloria says, Indians are wildly comic. He invokes two favorite subjects of Indian mirth, One is Custer, who was found wearing "an Arrow shirt," and the other is Coumbus. Indians, watching his landing, groaned, "There goes the neighborhood." Deloria cites bumper-sticker slogans: "God is Red" and "We Shall Overnun." There are other contemporary jokes, like the one about a poll which disclosed that while only 15% of the In-

with the apparently laudable, liberal and practical notion that federal aid to Indians should be cut off. reservations closed down, and all remaining Indians independently blended into something called "the American economic and cultural mainstream".

A classic example, in Deloria's view, is the Menominee tribe of Wisconsin. With large tax-exempt holdings, communal responsibility, a profitable sawmill and lumbering business, about 3,000 Menominees, before "termination" began in 1961, were nearly self-supporting, They cost the Federal Government only about \$50 per head in aid a year, a level far lower than in many white communities. Then the reservation was made into a regular Wisconsin county, tax exemptions were cut off, and Indians who occupied land were allowed to buy or rent it. In the eight years since termination, many have become dead weights on the state's welfare programs.

### Has being a private citizen stopped being private?



A lot of Americans believe it has. That government, especially, and even in-dustry and social organizations are ask-ing questions that are an invasion of your privacy. Like many of the questions on the U. S. Census, for example. And on the hundreds of forms, question-naires and applications you're asked to fill out every year, for as many different

Many people are growing concerned, too, about things like wiretapping and investigative bodies and the easy access of anyone to a profusion of snooping

Others see nothing wrong in any of it.
Feel that the people and businesses you are associated with have a right to know everything about you. And that, in fact,

the information you are asked to reveal to government is necessary to keep the

To government is necessary to keep the country running smoothly.

The point is, what do you think? It's your privacy. Do you want new or stronger legislation to protect it? Or do you think things are okay as they are? Either way, it's important that you have an opinion — and express it. In writing. an opinion — and express it. In writing.
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#### Six-Legged Hero

THE COMPLEAT FLEA by Brendan Lehane. 126 pages. Viking. \$5.95.

Max Beerbohm, a self-described miniaturist, once devoted an essay to a minister who asked a single meek question of Dr. Johnson. But in this age of miniaturization, Brendan Lehane has gone the Incomparable Max one less. He has devoted an entire book to a subject even more insignificant than an 18th century clergyman-the flea.

A British journalist, Lehane became interested in the flea while in Dublin. The insects' concern was only skindeep, but Lehane's soon reached the proportions of an idée fixe. In The Compleat Flea, he traces the bug's literary ancestry beyond the Bible ("After whom dost thou pursue?" asks David of Saul. "after a dead dog, after a flea."). The six-legged hero appears as a vil-

lain in Chaucer, Shakespeare and John Donne. Accordingly, the book lives up and down to its title. It even includes a bit of anonymous erotica-"The Autobiography of a Flea," whose expository style even Nabokov might envy. "I was engaged," begins the flea, "upon professional business connected with the plump white leg of a young lady of some 14 years of age .

Lehane also chronicles the vita activa of the flea as vaudevillian; the flea as athlete (one "can jump about 150 times its own length along, and about 80 times its length up"); the flea as



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spreader of plague and, in the case of the male, even as sexual tyrant. In mating, says Lehane, a man obviously sympathetic to the underflea, "he graphete abdomen with his antennae, and sensously brushes her parts with a swipsymembrane. Then violence comes. Copulation lists about three hours, sometimes as long as nine. . . So shapp of his organs that the female may in all likelihood have suffered injury, But have been specified in the sensor of the sorgans and he is satisfied, and within hours a new batch of eggs will drop into the world."

The mixed blessings of DDT and civic sanitation have given the flea a bleak outlook for the downhill third of the 20th century. Lehane's future looks far more promising.

#### Urban Gothic

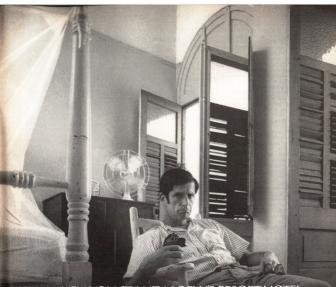
THEM by Joyce Carol Oates. 508 pages. Vanguard. \$6.95.

The difference between heroes and most people is that heroes have destinies, while most people have only ambitions. With some fine adjustments for human limitations, Joyce Carol Oaste demonstrates her intuitive grasp of this last in Theoretic hards and the state of the state of

The first two novels were A Garden of Earthly Delights (1967) and Expensive People (1968), both studies of frustrated love and self-destruction written with the intensity and control of fine short stories. Even before these books, Miss Oates had established herself as a prower and sensitivity. With the publication of Them at the age of 31, she emerges as that rarily in American flection, a writer who seems to grow with each new book.

Madding Emptiness. Set mainly in Detroit, Them spans three decades, from the economic depression of the late 1930s through the gathering moral and spiritual depression of the affluent postwar years. The book ends in the fire and blood of Detroit's 1967 summer riot. On the surface, the book is hard, cold and terrifying. Its core, however, is molten with sympathy for the struggles of the major characters. The result is Urban Gothic, a type of naturalism saved from the simple cataloguing of disasters by the author's ability to transform the mysteries of experience into vital characterizations.

Though they vary in complexity, all the people face the uncompromising difficulties of love and its opposite—not hate, but apathy—a madding emptiness that invites lust and violence the way deadwood invites fire. Loresta Wendell and the state of the sta



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policeman, more interested in investigating Loretta than the murder, has her back in bed. Marrying him to rise in the world, she eventually finds her level as a cheerful survivor, shifting from man to man, piecing together each new day from the wreckage of the old.

Loreta's daughter, Maureen, also has trouble with men, particularly her step-father, who nearly beats her to death. The battering reduces the girl to a state of psychic numbness. When her will research itself, she plots to seduce and marry a man "gaunt with normality," who already has a wife and three children with the state of the state of

Her brother Jules, by contrast, is consumed by passion. In Miss Oates' intensely realistic world, he is a stunted Nietzschean hero, a drifter and petty criminal who lacks the imagination to refine love out of his shapeless longings. Yet he is not without hope. Caught up in Detroit's summer riot. Jules discovers that his best instinct is for "senseless gled out from an ordinary day," he tells a TV interviewer after the riot. "Everyone must live through it again and again; there's no end to it, no land to get to, no clearing in the midst of the cities-who wants parks in the midst of the cities!-parks won't burn!

Click! It is not the message most viewers want to hear, but for Jules Wendell and the thousands like him who exist in the shadow of the national ideal, it is a savagely honest expression of liberation from zombism.

Eloquent Letter. The Wendells—the "thems" whose histories are desiccated by news accounts and government reports—are not simply victims of economic and social disorder. Miss Oates has taken pains to make them convincing representatives of man's tragic conflict between his need for passionate

self-expression and society's restraints. Joyce Carol Oates' pains, it turns out, were quite personal. As a teacher at the University of Detroit from 1962 to 1967, she first met the "Maureen Wenell" of the novel. She had been a student whom Miss Oates was forced to the word of the order of the order of the A few years later "Maureen" wrote Miss Oates an eloquent, obsessional letter about her sense of personal destiny.

Teacher and former student became acquainted, and "Maureen' confided the story of the "Wendells." "Their lives presed upon mine certily," says Miss Oates, "so that I began to dream about them instead of about myself, dreaming and redreaming their lives. Because their world was so remote from me, it entered me with tremendous power, and in a sense the novel wrote itself."

Although rooted in case history, Them is fiction in the purist sense: data, perception, feeling transformed by language and imagination into a new existence with a vitality that can even survive critical explanation.

#### Writing as a Natural Reaction

OYCE CAROL OATES can write eloquently from inside the heads of characters barely able to articulate. What she articulates through them occasionally may seem grotesque, overwhelming, overdrawn. But to anyone who finds it so, the author offers two creative precepts: "One has to be exhaustive and exhausting to really render the world in all its complexities and also in its dullness." And, "Gothicism, whatever it is, is not a literary tradition so much as a fairly realistic assessment of modern life." The assessment is based on six years of living and working in De-



JOYCE CAROL OATES

troit before she and her husband Raymond Smith moved across the river to Ontario, where they both teach literature at the University of Windsor. Detroit is Miss Oates' ideal American city of the '60s. It is, she says, a city so transparent "that one can see it ticking."

It is not an excessive remark, as any visitor may observe. At the city's airport, machine parts are displayed in glass cases as if they were gents. apaces of new automobiles, while the finned monsters of the '50s have all crawled off to ghetto side streets to die. Even the city's showplaces are touched with the grotesque. Along its status hotel—a clash of worlds traditional—a tired combo plays 1940s; two-steps for well-oiled cus-

tomers, who are served by aging waitresses in miniskirts.

Across the Detroit River in a small waterfront house in Windsor's quietly affluent Riverside section, Joyce Carol Oates and her husband are sheltered from the city's clang and danger. Living in Canada, the Smiths remain almost entirely American in their concerns. Joyce Carol-though she is against the Viet Nam war -has little sympathy with the kind of radical who, she feels, confuses personal frustrations with public problems. A minor character in her latest novel defines the type perfectly. She has small patience, too, with intellectuals who find her work too full of social and economic themes. "The greatest realities are physical and economic, all the subtleties of life come afterward," she says, "Intellectuals have forgotten, or else they never understood, how difficult it is to make one's way up from a low economic level, to assert one's will in a great crude way. It's so difficult. You have to go through it. You have to

Rejection Slip at 15. Daughter of a tool and die designer, she grew up outside of Lockport, a small city in western New York State. In a oneroom schoolhouse, Joyce Carol's writer's reflex quickly asserted itself. She cannot recall a time when she was not setting down or thinking about a story. Her first submitted novel -250 pages devoted to a dope addict redeemed by getting a black stallion-was rejected by a New York publisher as too depressing for the 15vear-old market. Jovce Carol quietly accepted the verdict, though she was in a better position to judge. She

was 15 years old. In 1956, she earned a New York State Regents scholarship, allowing her to enter Syracuse University. She plunged into the study of literature, turned out a novel every semester. In 1959 she shared first prize in Mademoiselle magazine's national college fiction contest. Later, at the University of Wisconsin, she acquired a master's degree and met Raymond Smith, who was taking his Ph.D. She rarely rewrites. Today, novels, stories, essays, book reviews and poems jump from her electric typewriter with phenomenal speed: six books in six years, a play, numerous pieces of journalism, a collection of poems (Anonymous Sins) to be published this fall, a book of essays on tragedy scheduled for next spring, and a new novel already brewing. Yet, says Joyce Carol Oates, "I find it hard to accept the fact that I have been publishing for ten years. I think of myself as only beginning.

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